

# The Washington Party



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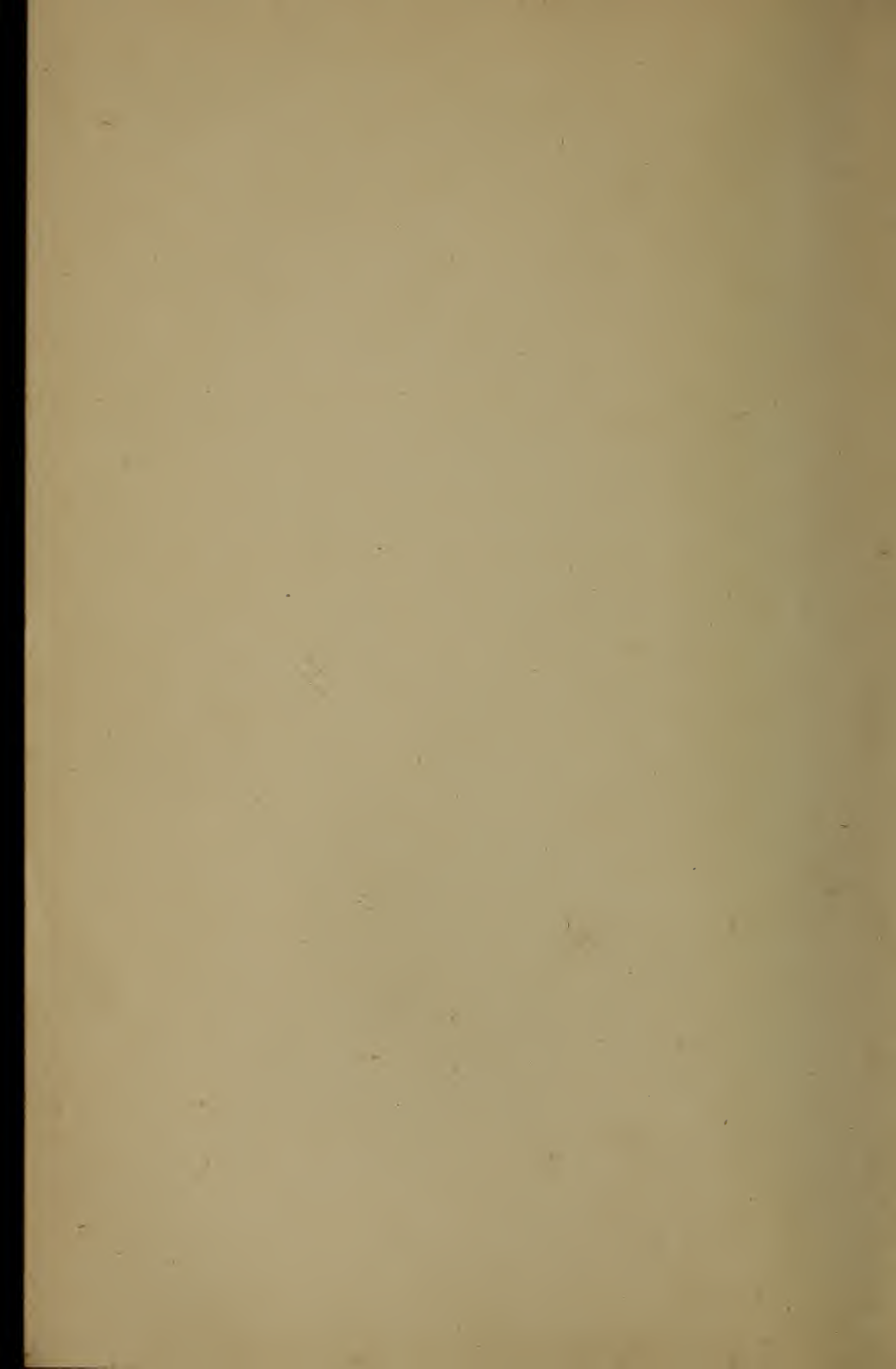
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# THE WASHINGTON PARTY

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"SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?"

—IF SO—

PARTIES MUST BE DESTROYED

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—BY—

FRANK J. SCHNECK

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ROCHESTER, N. Y.

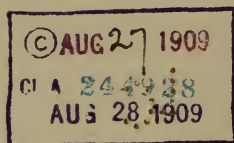
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FRANK J. SCHNECK



# PREFACE

## THE WASHINGTON PARTY?

Another party! Yes, another party for another battle. Are there not enough parties now? Yes, there are too many. There should be just one, and that one should entrust the power of government to the people, so that thereafter there shall be none. Parties must be destroyed.

Washington said, "The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty."

For sixty years party spirit burned in the hearts of the people, and was made use of by the politicians, and the result was the great Civil War, a result that Washington might have feared, but that he would probably not have imagined.

Lincoln said the government could not remain half-slave and half-free. It cannot be governed long by the people in theory, but by parties in fact. The government under the constitution must provide a means for the people to govern themselves, or the parties and bosses will outgrow the constitution and set up a government of their own despotism on the ruins of the republic.

The people have left the management of the government to the parties almost entirely, and a more dangerous thing than the Civil War may come upon us. Through the dry rot of democracy may come the peaceful revolution from the republic to the despotism, with the people too



bound by the slavery of party to break their chains, too confident in their safety to open their eyes to the danger they are in, too sound asleep in the cradle of party to give heed when the house is burning down.

During the last presidential campaign, Mr. Bryan said the issue was, "Shall the people rule?"

That is a very important question. That was the issue with King John, in England, in 1215, when the people established their Magna Charta. That was the issue with King George III, in 1776, when the people established the Declaration of Independence. That is the question now with King Party, when the people shall establish their authority by organizing themselves as the government. We were freed from the King and his retainers. We shall be freed from parties and their politicians. Parties must be destroyed.

The question, "Shall the people rule?", implies that they ought to rule, but that they do not rule. The purpose of this book is to show that they do not rule and how they may rule.

Nearly all of our great men say parties are necessary.

Many of our great men and most of the thinking people say parties are failures.

Why are they necessary? Why are they failures? What is the remedy for the necessity and the failure?

I bring arguments to show how the people may rule without parties. There is a general movement toward more direct government by the people. That movement we may call the Washington Party, for it will lead us to a condition in which there shall be no parties, and presidents will be elected by all the people as Washington was.

Parties must be destroyed.

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## CHAPTER I. SOME PICTURES.

### *Anglo-Saxons.*

It is a beautiful Spring day and a band of men are ascending a grassy hill and gathering under a large tree. They are dressed in clothes spun of flax, some of which are bright colored. They wear helmets on their heads, and their feet are covered with sandals made of the hides of animals. Each bears on his left arm a shield and in his right he carries a spear. Near by is a little village of log cabins surrounded with cultivated gardens and pasture lands on which are grazing goats. There are fields of rye from which the villagers will make bread. Surrounding the hill is a hedge and a ditch to keep away intruders. The men are going up the Moot hill to gather under their sacred tree.

They meet. One of their number comes out and calls them to order. They stand up, each with spear in hand. They are the village assembled as the government. They talk over questions and decide them. Sometimes they shout, and sometimes they express approval by clashing their spears against their shields. They decide how the village lands shall be divided up among the villagers for cultivation. They appoint men to build or repair the hedge and the ditch. They admit young men to the assembly, who are then called "Freemen." All freemen have a right to talk and vote in the meeting. They have rules of order and are one of the first parliamentary bodies in the world.

This meeting is one of hundreds that were held every year over two thousand years ago in Northwestern Europe. Since that time similar meetings have been held in all the English speaking nations, but never have there been meetings that were more impressive than these nor more instruc-

tive. They make simple the principle that all government derives its authority from the consent of those governed. Such assemblies were pure democracies. Those were examples of perfect government. Every man took part and every man abided by the decision of the majority.

Our civilization has risen much higher than the rude foundation laid by our ancestors, but our government has not kept pace with the general advance. And it will not rise to its true proportions until it is built on the ancient foundations of popular assemblies of the people. These are the rocks on which the temple of government must be built, and the gates of party shall not prevail against it.

### *Landing of the Pilgrims.*

It is the 12th of December, 1620. Forty-one men with their families anchor their ship, the Mayflower, near Plymouth Rock. In front of them is an unknown forest, stretching in all directions and filled with savages whom winter has driven from the shore. It is a cold and unpleasant landing, but the search for liberty and freedom makes any place pleasant, any place where freedom is found. This little company of men before landing drew up a constitution for their government. This document is signed by all the men and makes them a parliamentary assembly similar to those of their ancestors of Northwestern Europe.

Their agreement is short. By it they combine themselves into a political body to enact such just and equal laws as shall be thought most meet for the general good of the Colony. "Unto which we promise all due submission."

### *Declaration of Independence.*

Three million people are living on the Atlantic Coast in small cities and villages, stretching for a thousand miles from Massachusetts to Georgia. In front of them are three thousand miles of sea, over which it is difficult to travel for

they have no steamships. In their rear are three thousand miles of forest full of savages, who are ready to descend upon the people and burn their dwellings, day or night. They have no railroads, telegraphs or newspapers. What happens at one end of the country is not known at the other end for months or a year. Beyond the sea is the British government to which the people look for guidance. They are brothers to the King's subjects and look to the King to give them the same rights that he gives his subjects in England, but they are disappointed. The King looks upon them as subjects of his government but not citizens. They want to stretch their hands across the sea and co-operate with their brothers in England in the government, but the King refuses. They are denied representation in the government, but are promised the strong hand of the English government over them. The people are descendants of those described in the last paragraph, and it would be contrary to nature if they should voluntarily submit to be governed without their consent.

They have held their little town meetings in school houses or churches, have talked over their condition and have selected their best men to speak for them in a meeting at which men from the other little towns will be present. Their largest city is Philadelphia, and there these representatives of the people meet to discuss their condition and to find a remedy for the evils that have come over them.

We find them praying for the right to participate in their government, and being refused. Now we see them assembled to declare their right to govern themselves. They do so in the face of obstacles that would overwhelm a race not used to governing themselves and overcoming their difficulties.

In defiance of the English King and parliament the representatives of the people declared that all men are



created equal in their right to participate in their government. They declared their independence of all authority of the English King, and in support of their declaration they pledged to each other their fortunes and their lives. Philadelphia is the Moot hill, the sacred tree, of the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons who had come to America.

Thus was the Declaration of Independence adopted in 1776 and Liberty proclaimed throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof.

*Washington's Inauguration.*

It is the 30th of April, 1789. George Washington is inaugurated President of the United States at New York City. The colonies that declared themselves independent, have won their independence under his brave leadership.

They have formed a government in which the people are to rule, and the people have chosen Washington with one voice to be their chief executive. The country is small and weak, with enemies at home and abroad, and the people are suffering the results of a long, hard war, but they have confidence in themselves. They are full of the fire of self-government. They are beginning the first act in the drama of representative democratic government, and they choose the "Father of his Country" as their first leader.

He has proved his right to be called one of the greatest statesmen of the age. He could not foresee the greatness of his country's growth. He could not foretell the miserableness of the great civil war, but he realized that the country was destined to greatness and that its worst enemies would be political parties.

In his farewell address to the people, as a warning to them, he used these words: "I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations.

Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally \* \* \*

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it."

### *Civil War.*

Since the Declaration of Independence the little strip of country has spread from one ocean to the other. It has increased in population from three million to thirty million, but among these thirty million are four million *slaves*. We admire the courage of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. We admire their wisdom at that early day in declaring all men equal, but what can we think of their descendants when they have grown to greatness holding four million people as slaves. We see these slaves held in only one part of the country and this part dominated by what is called a political party. Abraham Lincoln comes on the scene. The Civil War ensues. During this war he writes the

Emancipation Proclamation, which sets the slaves free, and the war confirms his act. The government is preserved. The principles of the Declaration of Independence are reaffirmed, slavery is destroyed.

But what was the baleful influence that brought the two sections of a peaceful country together in the most terrible civil war known to history? Why was it with a government formed on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, formed by men who fully believed in those principles, established by a constitution that reiterated those principles, the people should go to the extreme of civil war over the question whether four million residents of the country should be freemen or slaves? The demon that led the people to this dark deed, was political party. It was unknown to the ancient Saxons, unknown to the signers of the Declaration, but it was known in all its hideousness to the people of 1860.

The war has cost \$2,000 for each slave, the life of one free man for every four slaves, four years of hate, hate that has for its satisfaction nothing but blood, and a generation of anguish, poverty, and tears. It was indeed the most uncivilized exhibition ever offered to the reflection of man.

The civil war is but an apple picked from the party tree, and it is a tree that has a lusty growth and bears much fruit.

### *Gettysburg.*

A great battle has been fought. Thousands have been slain. The feelings of the people have been tense with fearful excitement. The prospect of war to the point of exhaustion and extermination, has just passed. On the field of Gettysburg the great hearted President of the nation gives us these words:

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and



dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion,—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain,—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom,—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

The nation was established for liberty and happiness, but the sword was drawn to write the Declaration of Independence in blood. The nation was preserved with another declaration of liberty, but the sword was again unsheathed. The nation must now be delivered to the people to be cared for hereafter by them as their only means of safety and sure guide to what is greatest in life, but the blade will remain in its scabbard. The pen is mightier than the sword, the ballot is greater than the bullet, parties must be destroyed and the people shall rule.

*The Last Campaign.*

It is 1908. The war is forgotten. The people of the whole country believe the principles of the Declaration of Independence. They are very much interested in their right to govern themselves. They have daily newspapers, and are hourly informed of what is going on in the political world. For three months they are reading the papers, attending public meetings, arguing among themselves. The little handful of men who went up to the sacred tree on the Moot hill have now grown to be sixteen million men. They cannot now gather under the tree, but they go into the booth, one by one, and pull the lever or make a mark under the party column, which means "I give my consent to be governed, I pass under the Yoke." After the three months' schooling (shouting and marching) they have had in the campaign, they are prepared to vote. The managers of the two great parties have picked out their leaders, and now the sixteen million freemen take the three months to seriously consider which of the two leaders shall be appointed leader of all the people. That is the question they are called on to decide. Their decision may be that the man picked out by the oracle of one of the parties, shall be ruler of us all. If they do not come to this decision, they must decide that the oracle of the other party who picked himself out shall govern us all. It is indeed a momentous question.

*February 22, 1909.*

On February 22, 1909, the newspapers reported a speech by the Governor of New York, in which he said:

"The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with a party machine; that is, by dealing with the one man or with the few men who in any given community have secured such control \* \* \*

"That the present method of nominating party candidates by delegates at conventions is, in the main, a farce, is likewise indisputable. Upon this question of fact the people of the state, with a knowledge of the actual practices of conventions, are competent to reach a conclusion. Sophistry cannot obscure the actual working of our convention system. Delegates generally are like a stage populace who are selected for the purpose of shouting lustily when they get the cue from the leading actors in the political drama. And they seldom play any other part. You have in New York City an object lesson of political domination, notorious throughout the world, which shows not only the possibilities but the logical results of our present system. And in our up-state counties also there are local oligarchies and despotisms. Not long ago Senator Depew, in a candid speech at the final ceremonies in the "Amen Corner" of the old Fifth Avenue Hotel, is reported to have said (and I do not understand that the accuracy of the report has ever been questioned): 'It has often been asked where the real capital of the state of New York was located. Well, since before the time many of you were born, the capital of this state has been right here where I am standing \* \* \* There have been many conventions at Saratoga, when the whole state waited breathlessly for 900 delegates to decide on a ticket—which was made up complete and in apple-pie order right in this corner.'

"There are other nooks and recesses of similar power, although the old "Amen Corner" has passed away. There is no need to deal with these obvious facts. The question is, what shall we do to correct the present abuses?"

Parties must be destroyed.

*Parliamentary Assemblies.*

This morning, February 22nd, Washington's Birthday, there are in the newspapers several accounts of political cau-



cuses held in towns in New York State. The accounts are the most interesting reading seen in the paper in a long time. They tell of the members of the two great parties meeting in certain halls at certain hours of the day, choosing a chairman and other officers, making motions, nominating candidates for town offices and appointing committees. This description takes us back in history two thousand years or more, to the time when our ancestors held similar meetings in Northwestern Europe. We have already described the meetings of the Anglo-Saxons under their Sacred Tree on the Moot hill, and their choosing their officers and making their laws. The town caucuses are an outgrowth of these ancient meetings, just as the people who attend the town assemblies are descendants of the people who attended the historic "tun" meetings. It is the kind of government these people always will have if they continue to be free and true to their nature. It is the kind of government the American nation wants. It is American Democracy.

These meetings are held to some extent in the towns in the State of New York. Suppose they were held in every town in the United States once or twice a year. Suppose all the people in their respective towns attended the meetings and took active part in them the way our ancestors did long ago. It would be one of the grandest pictures in the history of the world. To think of all the men twenty-one years of age in a population of ninety million, meeting on the same day in their little town halls or school houses to discuss questions of government and to pick out officers to do their bidding and execute their wishes! To picture this is the expression of the dreams of Democracy. Those who have built up a perfect government in their visions could not have beheld a more perfect scene than this. It would be the whole country turned for one day into a school. There the people would meet to educate themselves, and to give voice to the opinions



they had formed during the previous year's study. They would be inspired to do their best work. They would have thought out the problems of the day. They would have become acquainted with the best men. There would be a natural pride in understanding their condition and in giving intelligent expression to their opinions. Here would be the government assembled, the people clothed with the mantle of authority, the democracy pure and perfect.

We have the canvas. Shall we paint the picture upon it? Shall the people rule?



## CHAPTER II.

## THE RISE OF THE REPUBLIC.

In 1619 the first representative assembly in America was organized in Virginia. In 1620 the Pilgrims formed a pure democracy at Plymouth. For many years the people of Massachusetts were governed as a pure democracy. The people met to make the laws, and when the colony grew too large to actually meet, the people of the towns assembled and chose delegates to meet in place of all the people. The Declaration of Independence says that all men are equal in the right to govern themselves, that it is their right and duty to organize a government through which they can express their desires. The revolutionary war made the declaration effective. It made it the greatest legal document in the world. The American Constitution is the body of which the Declaration of Independence is the spirit. This Constitution is the trunk of the tree of self-government through which the sun of liberty forces the sap of political life.

The colonists came to America for freedom and faced all difficulties to secure freedom. But the principles of monarchy were growing strong in England. It is often said that it rains on the Fourth of July. In 1776, it poured. The shooting of 1776 rent the clouds of despotism that had gathered thick above the colonies and they poured down their most copious showers. But the clouds were shattered, the sun shone through and the rain ceased. The plant of self-government that started under the care of the Anglo-Saxons in their little tuns now became the great tree of American Liberty to spread its branches over the continent and to shed its perfume throughout the world.

Washington was chosen the first President under the Constitution to give it force and to guard the unfolding buds of the tree of representative democracy. He was chosen by the people. There were no parties. But parties have come, and they must be destroyed.

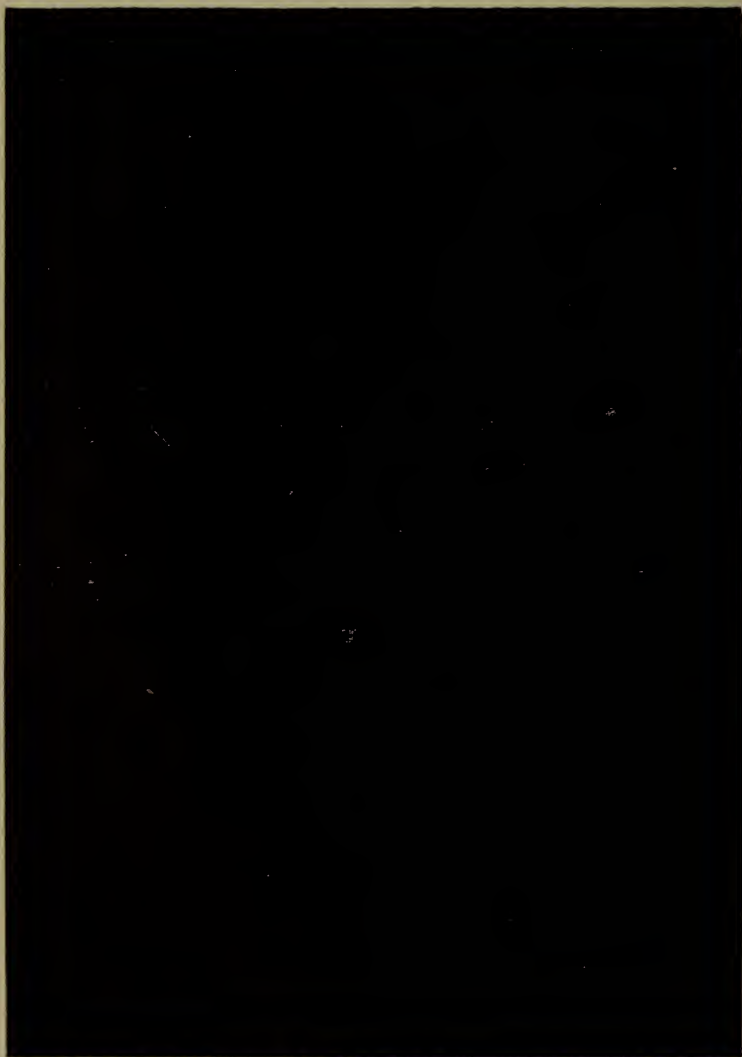
INTERREGNUM  
CHAPTER III  
INTERREGNUM

19

THE WASHINGTON PARTY

CHAPTER IV

PARTY RULE





*Notes on Chapters III and IV.*

That blank page is the most eloquent in the history of the world. It shows what the people have done. They were ready to rule and they halted. Their hands seem to have been tied. They have done nothing in government. What disease has withered their hands? What has put the gag in their mouths? Who has put the sleeping potion in their drink? The plant of liberty has struggled up from the ground and established itself in fertile soil. The time for blossoming has come. The buds are there, but the beauty of the flower does not appear, there is no fruit. What is the worm at the root?

That black page tells the story. It is next in eloquence to the preceding one. The record is as dark as the ink in which it is printed. If it could only be blotted out, but it must stand—a record of deeds too black to put into words. It can only be expressed by utter blackness. A few words will bring to the imagination what the pen cannot make clear; civil war, graft, the pauper and the trust, the man who cannot get work, and the man who has more money than he can spend. All men were created equal. What has made the difference between the starving child in the sweat shop and the capitalist in his five million dollar palace?

But the stones that would build pyramids we shall make into school houses. Instead of tombs of despots we shall build many houses for the people living. Instead of ruins of Empires we shall complete the roof of the Republic. Instead of the silence of dead civilization, we shall hear the voice of the people preparing the rule of the kingdom of heaven on earth.

“Vox populi; Vox Dei.”

## CHAPTER V.

## PARTY GOVERNMENT IS A FAILURE.

*The Indictment.*

When a man is accused of doing a public wrong he is given a hearing before a grand jury, and if considered guilty is indicted of the crime. The people acting as the Grand Jury have considered the actions of political parties and have brought in an indictment of failure, incompetency, deception and graft.

When an officer betrays his trust, he may be impeached by the judicial authorities. The intelligence of the people is the Supreme Court of our government, and this court impeaches political parties with failure, fraud, deception, murder and all the crimes in the political calendar.

The first President warned the people against the terrible effects of party rule and pictured a condition which we hope will never come to pass, but which as he said we should ever keep in mind.

Jefferson, who is called the founder of one of our parties, seeing the evils this party government would bring over us, said: "That government is best which governs least."

The emancipator of the slaves said that the civil war, brought on by party bosses, consecrated our lives to the high endeavor that government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish from the earth. There is no more memorable scene in history than that of Lincoln standing on the bloody field of Gettysburg in the midst of a terrible war, reminding the people of the awful disaster, brought to them and the country through the excess of party passion.

On the trial of those indictments against the party, we bring into court as our witnesses Presidents, Governors, Congressmen, Senators and candidates for these offices. The

whole mass of the people are of the opinion that the people do not rule, that government by party is a failure. If we talk with men on the street, they say it does not make any difference which party is in power, that everything is graft, that the bosses have everything mapped out, and that no consideration is given to the welfare of the people.

Each candidate for President denounces the officers elected by the other party as being in league with certain interests and against the interests of the mass of the people. A political campaign speech is a fault-finding tirade against the opposite party. Every speech made is an indictment of party government for incompetency. No party platform is satisfactory, and no intelligent citizen who thinks of what is being done, is satisfied with the conduct of public affairs. Those who are out of office are thoroughly dissatisfied with those in. Those who are in office realize that the people are dissatisfied and promise if they are left in office they will immediately institute reforms. Just one illustration to show the utter incompetency of parties to rule and to give the people what is required. For forty years the tariff question has been prominent in American politics. It was the only question in two presidential campaigns. In 1892 the Democratic candidate received the greatest popular endorsement that had been given to any man. There was a revolution in party membership. It was plainly evident that the people wanted the tariff reduced. The slight revision that followed this election was unsatisfactory to everybody. Those who count themselves democrats have been ever since asking for another revision. Those who manage the republican party have insisted that a revision is necessary, and in the last campaign promised unequivocally to revise the tariff "immediately." Now, if the tariff should be revised immediately to satisfy the demand of justice, has not the party in power, which has been in absolute control for twelve years, been



guilty of misuse of power? Could there be a better illustration of failure and of the refusal of parties to manage the government as the people would have it?

*Government by Parties Selfish.*

Government by parties develops party spirit or makes us bigots. It destroys independent thinking and therefore it destroys real government. Under rule by party, we become partisans instead of patriots. We cheer for the party and not for the State. There are many partisans who are willing that the other party should wreck the government that their side may have a chance to win. The interest of the individual in his party becomes superior to his interest in the State.

Every man would rather please the people than to displease them, would rather do something for their benefit than for their injury, but he will not let slip an opportunity to better himself and his party. The man who does not strive to advance himself has too little spirit to be an officer. It is not supposed that when an opportunity presents itself, a man will let this opportunity pass by. When Mr. Croker was before a New York investigating committee he said in answer to questions as to his public acts, "I work for my own pocket all the time."

The government is for all, but the government can be of much more assistance to a man of great wealth than it can be to a poor man. The laborer must work for his wages. A trust magnate may make several million dollars by simply getting some law passed that will grant him special privileges.

This law may be a few cents detriment to each laborer, but a few million dollars benefit to one man of great wealth. The laborer cannot make a special appeal to the government in his behalf, but the man who is to be benefitted by several million dollars can well afford to employ skilled lawyers and lobbyists to present his case to those in public office. I will



quote from Governor Hughes: "The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with the party machine; that is, by dealing with the one man or with the few who in any given community have secured such control." That is not only the easiest way, it is *the* way.

President Roosevelt said that he and Mr. Harriman were "practical men," and he asked Mr. Harriman to come down to Washington to see him while he was writing his message to Congress.

Mr. Harriman says: "Newspaper men are crooks, and I can buy them; whenever I want legislation from the legislature I can buy it; I can buy Congress, and, if necessary, can buy the courts." Of course he can. Most of the public officers are lawyers, they are attorneys for those who can hire them. If they will try to convict an innocent man of some crime for money, why will they not pass some law by which a man may improve his business, if he will divide the profits of that business with the lawyer?

If we had no parties could our public officers be as easily approached? The party organization makes it much easier for those who seek special privileges to secure them. Our public officers are indebted first to the party leaders. The approach to public officers is made through the party leaders. It was because Croker and Platt could manage *deals* that they were leaders. Their leadership consisted in getting favors from those who had the money to pay and in getting the *pay*. The government of the party is necessarily in the hands of a few, and the few can always be reached more easily than the many.

In history we read of Kings who sold their power to barons, satraps, and brigands. Those who bought the royal authority exercised it for their own good. The power of government was in their hands, the same as the power of

government now is in the hands of the politicians. The relation of the people to the brigands was the same as the relation of the people is now to our political leaders. Government is power over the people, and those who possess the power will use it over the people, and use it for their own good. To say that government *by* parties is *for* the people is simply a contradiction. When we see clearly just what a party is, we will see what government by party is, and we will see that such government cannot be for the people.

*It Makes Us Deceitful.*

The arguments that are brought forward during a presidential campaign are illustrations of the way that parties pervert the popular mind. The stump speakers, the newspapers and the members of the party generally, argue their side in a way contrary to all rules of logic. They would never think of considering any business question in the same way they do their political questions. They could not bring their minds to reason on any business proposition in that way. For twenty-five years some of the brightest men of the country have been telling the people that the foreigner pays the tariff tax, and try to make the people believe it. They do believe it. If there were no parties such a proposition as that the foreigner pays the tariff, would be too ridiculous for anybody to bring up, but under the sanction of the party platform, it is the belief of millions of our voters. On the other hand, the Democratic speakers, papers and voters argued that they want a tariff for revenue only, that they are opposed to protection, but they say they do not want free trade. The words "free trade" are enough to scare the American people. The Republican managers have worked up a scare and the Democrats have been scared by them. If there were no parties, the proposition of free trade would be about as fearful as the proposition to introduce some labor-saving machine or a new

invention that would add greatly to the prosperity of the country.

During the last campaign it was pointed out that the South has been Democratic for years and that the kind of rule that obtained in the South would be the kind of rule that we could expect if the Democrats were entrusted with power in the Nation. Could any argument be more devoid of sense? The policies that the national Democratic party proposed are entirely outside of State authority. If every man in the South were a Democrat, those States could not put in operation one of the principles the National Democracy advocates. The whole country is under the same system of national laws, and if the South is backward in civilization, it has grown backward under the same laws that the prosperous North has grown forward. Does anyone imagine that a Democratic city in the North is any worse than a Republican city or that a Republican city in the South is any better or worse than a Democratic city?

How the party platform makes us believe or makes us try to believe is shown by the Democratic Platform of 1896. At that time the mass of Democrats did not believe in free silver. But the advocates of free silver secured control of the party organization under the influence of a financial panic, and made the platform a declaration for the free coinage of silver. What was the result on the minds of the mass of Democrats? If they were true party men they believed free silver was right. If the platform had declared for "gold," they would have believed in "gold". This shows how completely the mind of the partisan is dominated by the platform of his party. The influence of a church dogma on belief is no stronger than that of a political platform.

Why is it that the people of one State believe in a high tariff and those of the next State, whose interests are identical, believe in free trade? Why is it that people of one



ward in one city are nearly all Democrats and the people of the next ward are nearly all Republicans? Why, it is the same reason that the people in one ward may be nearly all Germans and the people in the next ward nearly all Irish. They were born that way. How can a German help being one? How can a born Republican be a Democrat? If I am a Democrat, what do I believe? I first find out what I am *expected* to believe, and that is what I *do* believe. If my Republican neighbor presents any argument tending to show that his party is right, it is my duty to think up some arguments to beat him, and that is all party organization is for. It has nothing to do with the merits of the case, it has only to do with winning a case.

When a lawyer of the criminal goes before the jury to secure his client's freedom, he pays no attention to truth and the merits of the case. His object is to free his client, and whatever will free his client he brings forth, and whatever will tend to convict his client, he conceals.

When two or more people play cards, they conceal their hands and try to win by deception and luck. The whole success of the game depends on the deception, and this is precisely the same in politics. The politicians do not show their hands.

### *Practical Proof.*

If the men of the Colonial period could come back now, and without knowing what form of government we have, could read our papers, and talk with the people, what would be their impressions? What would be the impressions of any people who should consider our conditions without considering our form of government, not thinking that this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people? What would be their conclusions?

They would read and hear of the extravagance in public office, of billion dollar Congresses, of one-hundred million

dollar canals, of the swarm of public officers, commissioners, etc., feeding at the expense of the people, and they would say: "These people are being robbed by their officers, such taxation is tyranny."

They would go into our courts to see the poor man fined for his little crime of stealing a loaf of bread, and the man of great wealth set free for stealing one-hundred-thousand dollars entrusted to his care by depositors in our national banks. They would see the great corporations brazenly defying the law and paying sharp lawyers one thousand dollars a day to thwart justice. They would say: "These people are judged by jurists who award justice according to the weight of the contribution placed on the scales of the justices."

They would see the little children grinding out their lives at the factory wheels, the mothers in the sweat shops, and they would say: "Why are the masters so cruel to their slaves, they are not so cruel to their horses. It must be that the masters own the horses but only hire the slaves. If the horse dies the owner loses, but if the child dies there is another one that necessity compels to take the place. But these masters are kind to their own families, kind to their horses and dogs, it must be the necessity for profit and the necessity for wages that makes all this seeming unkindness to the slaves."

Justice awarded to the client with the largest bank account, and a system of slavery that makes it more profitable for the master to hire the slaves than to own them, are the twin apples that have grown from the limb of party government on our tree of State. What is the Washington hatchet that will lop off that branch?

The great majority of the people are of the laboring class, and from them and for them we hear the cry they do not have what they want, that they do not get their just

reward, that justice is given to the few favored ones but is denied to the many, that laws are not made in the interests of the mass of the people, that the rich are getting richer and fewer, and that the poor are getting poorer and more numerous. But if this is a government in which the majority of the people rule themselves, how can such things be? How can the majority be finding fault with what they do themselves? How can the people be complaining of the laws they make themselves? If they get what they want they will not be complaining, and their complaint is proof that the government does not enable the people to have what they want and is therefore a failure. When the people rule they will not be complaining.

Shall we who have all power ask in vain for what we want, if we are able to use the power? Shall we who produce all food be hungry if we ourselves make the laws for the distribution of that food? Shall the creators of all wealth be poor?

The people will not be crying out about the evils that have come upon them when they can have what they want. Their cry is the cry of failure of party government to enable them to express their wishes.

Party government is a designing serpent with lies on its tongue and slime in its path.

### *People Dissatisfied.*

Who are satisfied with our government? Those who are its grafters and those who do not know what is done. The intelligent people are all finding fault, and to them the government is not satisfactory. This is the evidence that indicts the government of failure. Business is successful, government is the most important business. Why should it not be run successfully? We do not find the people finding fault with the methods of our large business concerns, for those concerns are managed the most successfully of any in



the world. Why should not the same thing be said of our government?

Why are there poor men, bad men, unfit men in our offices? There have been cases where men who could not read or write, were chosen on our boards of supervisors and boards of aldermen. Is not a government run by such men necessarily a failure? Is not a government which permits such men to be its managers, a failure?

Why do good men refuse to participate in politics? Why is there indifference to so great public concerns on the part of our best men?

Why do we advise young men to go into any profession except public life? We say to an honest young man, "Be anything you wish but a politician." Now, a politician *ought* to be the most respected of men. He ought to do the highest class of work for his fellow men, and under the successful government, he does it. A government that keeps its best men out of its service, must be a failure.

Why are our taxes so high? Do we get what we pay for? The taxes of the National government average \$7 to each person; New York State, \$11; and the City of Rochester, \$15. When a government gives us so little in return for what we give to it, is it not a failure?

Why do the small minority of the rich take advantage of the great majority of the poor? Why do the few enjoy the favoritism of the government when the government is in the hands of those from whom those favors are *taken*? When the mass of the people complain that they do not get their fair share of the products of their labor, is not their government a failure?

Why is it that our officers are selected by one man, or by a few men working together as one man? Why is public office a private snap? When public office becomes the personal possession of the man who fills it, who uses it for his



own advantage, and "works for his own pocket all the time," is not that method of government a failure?

*Legislators, Go Home!*

This morning the newspapers contain articles to the effect that members of the State Legislature of New York are "being deluged" with telegrams from boards of trade and business men, urging the Legislature to speedily adjourn and thus help to relieve the business depression! What a commentary on the failure of our government by parties! The legislature is elected to make laws for the people to help them in time of trouble. We are in the midst of business depression—a panic—and what does this legislature of wise men do? Nothing. What do we think they can do? Nothing. What do we want them to do? Nothing. The business men distrust them and want them to adjourn, stop, get out of the way, so they *can do* nothing. They are a nuisance. If the government by parties were a success, it would act *now*, now we would want it to act. We feel in our bones that it is a failure, and the less we have of it the better. If our Legislature and Congress were to adjourn for four years, perhaps it would be a good thing. The country would have rest and peace, the people would be left to themselves to get along without government. It would seem that no government is better than that which the parties give us. Truly, that government is best which governs least when it is run by parties.

If the Central Railroad Company were in financial trouble, the stockholders would want a meeting of the board of directors to devise some means for the improvement of the company. They would not ask them to go home and let the affairs of the company alone so that matters would not get worse. They would not do this unless they thought the directors were totally incompetent, but the stockholders of the State want the legislators to do this. We want them to

go home and stay there and leave the government alone. We think of them as boys playing with sticks of dynamite. They do not know what the trouble is with the business of the State, and they think it is not their business to know. They are picked out to look after the interests of the "interests," and therefore the less they do the better it is for the people. These officers study their jobs, but not the business of the State. As long as they do the work of their masters they are kept in office, but when they show a tendency to learn the needs of the people of the State, they are sent back to private life.

The State Capitol is used as a clearing house for speculators and grafters. They should be driven out and a sign should be put on the Capitol "To let for some Honest Business," and the rent money should be divided among the people who cannot get work.

### *Panics.*

The people of the United States possess business enterprise, sagacity and skill. The seed time and harvest come regularly and the fruits of the soil are bountiful. But every little while we have a panic. What is the reason? The men who ought to know, our Legislators and Congressmen, certainly do not know, and we therefore want them to go home so they will not do any foolish mischief by passing laws whose effect they know not. They are too busy to study the condition of the country, their private affairs are all they can attend to. Besides their business is outside the interests of the people. When they have themselves and their bosses to look out for, how can they be *expected* to look after the interests of the clamorous people? If you should see a quack doctor trying to cure a sick horse, you would say, "Go away, and let this horse get well." So we say to our Legislators, "Go home and let our business conditions improve." Instead

of cutting out the cancer they are likely to carve the heart, so little do they know of the anatomy of the State. Nowhere in the world are there better evidences of business ability than in the United States. Why then is this failure called business depression? All business is attended to except one business, and that is the most important one. The business of looking after the business interests of the people is the one thing that is neglected. Private business enterprises clash with one another, there is industrial warfare on all sides. Business is sick of the fever of its own disorganization, and the politicians cannot regulate it, they do not try.

*Party Government Means Personal Government, Autocratic Government.*

Pure democracy on a large scale has seemed impossible. At least it has seemed impossible up to the present time. Of course the people of the State or Nation cannot all meet together, all at once and make their laws or choose their officers. I shall show here and elsewhere that pure democracy is possible and necessary, that the people can all meet on the same day throughout the whole United States, express their choice of principles and men just as well as if they could all be under one huge tent, where one could speak to all the rest; and it is astonishing that our statesmen have not seen this. But for the present, we take the popular assumption that pure democracy is impossible and that representative democracy is the only practicable form. Since the people cannot actually meet, they must have representatives to meet in their place.

In a representative government, we say parties are necessary. Parties are necessary to pick out representatives. It is evident that if the people *cannot meet* and must have representatives to speak in their place *because they cannot meet*, they *cannot meet* to pick out officers and *must have* some



kind of representative to take their place in doing it. This representative is the political party. It has grown up to take the place of the people. Its *leaders meet* in place of the meeting of the people. It has a distinct reason for existence. It has grown in healthy soil and is a sturdy plant. The popular belief is that parties are as necessary as the machinery of government itself, that without the one, the other could not be; and as our government is organized, this is true. Instead of choosing officers, we choose parties. Instead of the people making a selection, the party leaders make the selection. The theory of parties is that we elect parties to carry out principles for us. Men having common opinions naturally get together to express their opinions. They form a party which expresses their opinions, and one object of the party is to advocate and express such opinions.

"Represent" is a peculiar word. There is also a word "misrepresent." Now I believe it is common knowledge and common opinion that the parties do not represent the people. They actually take the place of the people and represent nothing but themselves. To represent a person, we must do as he wishes us, to do as he would do if he were there. But when we set up our own judgment, then we do not represent him. Through parties principles are misrepresented, policies are misrepresented, laws are misrepresented. The people are deceived and government by party representatives is government by misrepresentation.

We have a government by parties and parties are dominated by what we call bosses. Governor Hughes said for years the people of New York State at the assembling of the Republican State Convention awaited anxiously for word to come from the Fifth Avenue Hotel of New York. Was this representative government? It was to be sure. The several hundred delegates at the convention represented Tom Platt and the interests back of him and the interests he was



backing. Those who thought these delegates were representing the people have been informed and are now informed by the Governor of the State, who knows how the machinery is run, as to the true nature of affairs.

When the Republican National Convention assembled in 1908, whom did the delegates represent? While the people were waiting for the nomination to be made, whom were they waiting for? While they were wondering what they were to believe, whose mind was preparing the political dogmas for them to believe? Theodore Roosevelt. It is conceded by everybody that is at all acquainted with the facts, that the convention was a Roosevelt convention, that every act either had its direction from him or was approved by him. His hold on the National Machine was as complete as Platt's hold on the State Machine.

This country has had two capitol, one at Washington and one at Lincoln. Mr. Roosevelt was one boss and Mr. Bryan the other. When the Democratic National Convention assembled in 1908, whom did the people wait for, whose will was to be expressed, who was to be represented? Mr. Bryan. Was anything done in that convention in opposition to his wishes? Could anything have been done in opposition? Perhaps never before have two men held such great power over political parties as these two men, and never before has there been as clear an illustration of one-man power in party and in government. These two men stand out like two mountain peaks in a mountain range.

When the party becomes the government, the boss of the party becomes the boss of the government. This is true if two and two make four. If Mr. Bryan could dominate the Democratic organization when he was a candidate for election, could he not have dominated much more completely if he had been elected. The more power a boss has, the more he is a boss. The more the people trust a man to represent

them, the less he will represent them and the more he will exercise the power given him as his own power. Kings represent the people. They have at some time been elected, but after the election they are themselves.

There has been much criticism of President Roosevelt, even by his friends, that he carried out a personal government. Senators and Governors of his own party have expressed themselves against such conduct. It was the contemplation of such exercise of power that led Washington to condemn parties in his farewell address to the people. When a man is the leader of a party, and his party followers become the government, is it not natural, is it not necessary that we have a personal government, is he not expected to give us such a government, is he not false to his party if he does not give it to us? The leader tells the people what they believe, and now when the people make him their official leader should he not continue to tell them not only what to believe but what to do? He did not take orders from them when he was a candidate, much less should he take orders when he is placed above them on his official pedestal.

### *Some Failures.*

In 1837 we had a great panic, in 1857 we had another panic, in 1860 we had the great civil war, in 1873 another panic, in 1893 still another and in 1907 the "last" panic came upon us. These panics have come during the administration of each of the great parties. There is a reason for such upheavals in our business, and neither party has applied any remedy for the evil. The country wears off the panic as a sick man may wear off his disease, without medicine.

Because some of the voters cannot read, party government need not be a failure, but when men who cannot read make our laws, can it be said our government is a success?

Every old soldier is a sign of the failure of party government of 1860. Every lynching in the South is a sign of the failure of the reconstruction of the South in 1868. The special session of Congress to revise the tariff is an indictment for failure to do a plain duty.

I do not say that our government is absolutely bad, but it is not as good as it should be. We are better off than the people of Europe financially. Why? We have cheap land and great opportunities to make money, great reward for labor, civil and religious liberty that is not the result of government by party. Justice is meted out by the common law that governs England. Party has given us practically nothing, it has developed no system of laws or policy, we have drifted. There have been opportunities for party graft and they have been seized.

The best developed institutions in America are our public schools, and they have been exceptionally out of politics, and it is for that reason they are good. When we must keep our schools out of the control of parties to make them successful is it not proof that government by parties is a failure? Every public activity that we can keep out of the clutch of party is a success, but wherever the hand of the party has control, there we find failure. Like a plague it spreads over the country poisoning everything with which it comes in contact.

The people have built up industry and a great system of schools. They have been successful in spite of the rule of parties. Parties have fooled with the questions of slavery, tariff, and money, without any plan or policy, letting the country drift along from one panic to another.

What has the constructive genius of the people done in politics? Nothing. What has the constructive genius of the politicians done? Given away the public land, granted franchises, spent much money for nothing, levied a system of

tariff taxes to build up industries which sell goods to foreigners more cheaply than to Americans. Where the parties have left the people alone there has been success. Where the evidence of party activity is strongest there are the clearest evidences of failure. Party is the leprous giant roaming over the country seeking what he may devour.

*A Contrast.*

Lord Chatham, speaking of the American colonies, in 1774, said:

"They choose delegates, by their free suffrages: no bribery, no corruption, no influence there, my lords. Their representatives meet, with the sentiments and temper, and speak the sense of the continent. For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language, for everything respectable, and honorable, the Congress of Philadelphia shine unrivalled. This wise people speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves; they tell you what they mean." That was when the people spoke through their representatives, when there were no parties, when the people could be heard as well as counted, when the people looked to the government as their chief guide up the hill of civilization. Instead of the government we have party, instead of patriotism we have partisanship, instead of the people expressing themselves as a force in the government they are counted and branded like sheep by the politicians. Parties have become the mile posts that lead us down the hill of misgovernment on the toboggan of bribery, corruption and graft. Instead of meriting the praise of the great English statesman we deserve the condemnation of our grand juries.

*Corruption.*

The Chicago Grand Jury, December, 1908, reported as follows:



“Fraudulent registration, leading to fraudulent voting; repeating by platoons of men who were voted first for one party and then for another party’s candidates at the same precinct; voting names of absentees, non-residents, insane and dead men, accepting false affidavits on behalf of disqualified voters, known to the judges to be so; numerous and flagrant perjuries by party voters to enable them to cast illegal votes, taking votes from non-resident voters without affidavits in support of such votes; fraudulently writing names on the poll-books and putting ballots in the boxes to correspond; keeping upon the registers names of men who have removed from the respective precincts and voting them; voting the same name more than once at the same precinct; disfranchising voters by permitting their names to be voted by others; marking ballots after the boxes were opened; handing voters ballots already marked for certain candidates; marking ballots for voters against their wishes, and putting such ballots into the ballot-box; intimidating voters and compelling them to vote for their candidates contrary to their wishes; strangers and police officers being permitted to handle the ballots after the boxes were opened so as to permit of fraudulent marking of ballots—all these were proved before us, and are by no means all of the devices which we have reason to believe were resorted to in violation of every provision of the election laws intended for the security of the voter, the sancity of the ballot and the accuracy of the result, and to defeat the will of the people as expressed by the lawful votes cast at said election.”

Is there any band of robbers who would conduct their official proceedings on a par with that?

*The Proof.*

You may say that decent people do not take part in the government. Yes, and that is the chief argument to prove

that our government by parties is a failure. The device of party that can keep the people from taking part in their most important business, that can destroy their interest in their most important institution, that can dissolve into a morass the only rock on which their security can rest, is a successful scheme for the "plunderbund," but a failure in establishing the government described by Lincoln.

Will those who do not agree that government by parties is a failure, tell us in what it is a success, or point out how party government produces any better or different results than any despotism of the old world?

If the complaints in the Declaration of Independence against the English King were recited against our parties, the indictment would be altogether too mild. We return again to the statement that parties stand indicted by the common sense of the American people as guilty of all crimes in the political calendar. On what points have they not failed? Parties must be destroyed.

### *Where They Succeed.*

But parties are successful! So are a great many robbers! To say that a thief succeeds is not to say that a life of thieving is a success. We admit that parties are a magnificent success for the managers of the machines. No failure there! Yes, parties have been a success for themselves. They have built up organizations within the State that set the government at defiance. They have succeeded in taking the reins from the hands of the people. Yea, they have dismissed the cart and horse of the Constitution and are riding for their health in an automobile of their own construction.

"Necessity is the mother of invention." Who is the master genius that fashioned the "Auto" of party rule? Absence of the good man of the house invites the thief. The temple of government was constructed for the people. They

were told to enter and enjoy, but they did not get the key that unlocks the door to the parliamentary assembly room of the people. The people have been locked out of their own house. Party thieves have broken in and made themselves master of the house. They shall be cast out. Parties must be destroyed.

### *The Oasis.*

I point to the bloom of our public school system as one plant that has not been blighted by the poisonous miasma of party corruption. If party government were a success, we would say let parties control our schools, but we instinctively shrink from it. Our good sense tells us to shun party government. "Keep the schools out of politics" is the cry that goes up from every city of America, and it is one unceasing cry against the incompetency and failure of party government. We say keep our schools out of politics because we want the laws that govern our schools made by men who at least can read. Let the schools be governed by commissioners, by selectmen, by any one, by anything, except by parties. Churches have advanced free of the State. Schools have flourished free from parties. Civil liberty has been protected by the constitution and the common law, which has nothing to do with the party. Party has gotten us into wars, given away our lands and natural resources, and collected taxes from us, but on account of our unbounded resources and opportunities, we have been successful in making money in spite of parties.

### *District School Government.*

The schools of New York are among the best in the world, although the system is not old, but the system of school government as practised in the country districts of the State is the most important institution of the world to-day. It is simply pure democratic government. Here

is the "people assembled." Here is the "District," here is the little State. Here we see again the meetings of Anglo-Saxons under their sacred tree, here we listen to the voice of the people.

One of these meetings is a solemn and impressive scene to the student of politics. I well remember, when a lad, going with my father to school meetings in my home district. It was a small district, the school house was small, but the meetings were important to the people, and interesting to me. The voters assembled and were called to order by the clerk of the district. A chairman and secretary were chosen and then the people proceeded to elect the school officers for the year. Sometimes an informal ballot would be taken for the trustee, by which the men who were considered candidates for the office would be made known to all the voters, and then from the highest on the list, the trustee would be chosen by one or more extra ballots. Here was a parliamentary body, acting according to the same rules as the English Parliament and the Congress of the United States. Here was the true parliamentary assembly of the people of the district, the "district assembled".

Each voter formed a part of the "District", each district formed a part of the "State"; the individual is the unit of society, the little district is the unit of governmental activity in the State. There are about twelve thousand such districts in the State. In twelve thousand little parliamentary assemblies the people of the State express themselves, govern themselves and do it *without parties*. Here then is the nuclues about which we shall build up the government of the State and the Nation, without parties. The territory of all of the districts makes up the territory of the State, the will of all of the districts ascertained, becomes the will of the State. We are the State, and we can act through our units of representation, the little districts that form the units of



government. Twelve thousand little states welded into one, and no parties!

Here is the taproot of the American Republic.

Here is the place where parties shall be destroyed. The little red school house shall outlast the pyramids, and when forty centuries look down upon it, it will still be the chief stone of the corner.



## CHAPTER VI.

## THEORY OF GOVERNMENT BY PARTIES.

*Principle of Representation.*

The theory on which government by parties is based is the principle of representation.

Shall the people rule? Yes. Democracy is an established fact.

There are instances of pure democracies, but they were all in a small territory. If only a small number of people are to be governed, a pure democracy is the only form of government that is proper, and that can be easily adjusted. But how can ninety million people meet as a pure democracy? Of course it is out of the question. The people of a city cannot meet in this way.

But when people cannot do certain things themselves, they may be able to send messengers or agents. This necessity gives rise to the principle of representation. Perhaps the first use of this principle was in the meeting of the Hundred in Europe. It was used in the county meetings in England and in the Colonies in America.

Long before the discovery of America, when England itself was inhabited by savages and the so-called civilized world was a little strip of territory surrounding the Mediterranean sea, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon race were living in the Northwestern part of Europe. They had local self-government in a higher form than had ever before existed. They lived in "tuns" or towns.

"Mote" is an Anglo-Saxon word meaning meeting. A "tungemote" was a town meeting in these ancient villages. Each spring the men of the town met under their sacred tree to make laws for the government of the town.

They thought that each man had the right to govern himself and his household and the right to participate in the

government of the tun, and that any government over the people derived its powers from the consent of the people governed.

A number of tuns formed a hundred. At the meeting, or "tungemote", a headman and four or more men were chosen to go to the "hundred-mote", the meeting of the hundred. This meeting or council decided disputes between tuns and appeals from the motes of the different tuns. The headman or "reeve" of each tun and those who went with him to the hundred-mote, represented their tun in this meeting. Here we see the working of the principle of representative government. The tun was a pure democracy, a government in which the people made their laws direct. A hundred was a republic, a government in which the people made their laws indirectly—by electing representatives to speak in their place.

The people of a large section of the country formed a nation—a natural nation of people speaking the same language and having similar ideals and customs. Peace and war were about the only questions that affected the nation. When such questions arose, the hundred-motes of the different hundreds that acted together and thus formed a nation, sent representatives of the hundreds to a national council, or mote, to choose a leader for the war. This leader we may consider our president; the national mote, our congress; the hundred-motes, our state legislatures; and the tuns, our towns and cities; and we have the seed, the embryo of the American Republic.

When the colonists came to New England they came together as towns. They built a school house and church, a block house for defense, cleared the land around their log houses for cultivation, and the little towns looked very much like the Anglo-Saxon tuns of 2,000 years ago. As they grew in size, several of them united, forming little colonies. The government of each colony was a representative government.

The plan of electing representatives to speak in place of the people of the towns, was not only more convenient, but it made it possible for the most competent men to take part in the government. So we see the principle of representation is based not only on convenience of meeting, but also on the idea of having only qualified men to take part in the government. Beyond the town, government was necessarily representative.

When the colonists became free and established our present government, they knew about local self-government and colonial representative government. In the town meeting they made laws for their town, laws that immediately affected themselves. The larger questions of government, questions that affected the colony and did not particularly concern the people of any town, were decided by the representatives of the people in colonial assembly.

The question of the necessity of representatives needs but to be stated to be approved.

The American colonists declared that, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." The people were willing to be taxed, but they wanted to impose taxes through their own representatives.

### *Theory of the Party.*

"Birds of a feather flock together." "Like attracts like." "We know a man by the company he keeps." These are all true and trite sayings. We find a great many societies and organizations throughout the country, and each has an object, there is a reason for each. The existence of a society requires a number of people having common opinions, desires, beliefs, an object in acting together, and an opportunity of acting together.

Girls admire flowers. Their common opinion is that flowers are nice and desirable. There are some flowers



growing in a wood near by, and of course the girls want these flowers. A nice idea comes to them, and they go to get the flowers. This illustrates the working of a society, of a political party. The opinion and the desire and the opportunity of the girls found expression in the May Flower Party. How did it take place, how was it organized? The opinion and desire was in each mind. The opportunity became known, and a suggestion was all that was necessary to get the girls to act. But someone must make the suggestion, someone must give the movement a start. The stone must be set rolling, there must be a leader. We may consider the things necessary to an organization as a common desire and a common opportunity.

How is a temperance party started?

How is a free education movement started?

How is a women's suffrage party or movement started?

How is a movement to repair the village sidewalk started?

How is an anti-immigration movement started?

A party is an organization of people with similar opinions, desires, etc. Parties will spring up when a question comes up that is vital and prominent enough to organize them, *but* if they are *already* organized into some party on some principle, it will be impossible to organize them on new lines. So that new principles even more important than the old ones may not have an opportunity to be expressed and represented by a party. Parties are organized because people agree on some one thing, but do not agree with other parties on some other thing. Because of this disagreement only one great principle can be expressed by one party at a time. The groundwork of a party is the common opinion, desire or ambition. The organizing of the party requires the opportunity to organize, a motive for organizing and an organizer to bring about the organization.

*Officers and Parties.*

Our officers make laws for us. We elect the officers for that purpose. If we want temperance laws, we must get men to pass them and execute them, we must get temperance men to do it, we must elect men to office, we must, therefore, have **a temperance party and elect its candidates to office.** We must find men who agree with us in principles, we must form a party, nominate candidates and get them elected. Then these candidates, who will become our officers, will pass and carry out the laws they want, which will be the laws we want. We can rule by electing men of like opinions as ourselves. All men who want temperance will join the temperance party, all the men who want protection will join the republican party, the men who want free trade will join the democratic party. If a man wants temperance, free trade, and the gold standard—Ah, such a man is thinking too much, he cannot belong to *any* party, we will consider his case in another chapter, but the man who has only *one* idea can find a party with that idea, or he can make a new party or give up his idea.

If you want some principle enacted into law, vote for the party that is advocating that principle. If there is no such party, *pray* for your principle. If you are a millionaire or own a newspaper start a party.

*Principles Not Men.*

It is the proud boast of many voters that they vote for the best man without regard to party, which means without regard to his political principles. They want to know his moral principle, his history, his conduct in public life, his attitude with respect to the welfare of the people. They want to know that he is not in any ring or clique, but that whatever he thinks is for the best interest of the people, he will do. They say men first and principles afterward.

There is another class of voters who take just as much pride in saying that they vote for principles and not for the man. They say the men are morally bound to carry out the principles of their party. They consider first the principle of the party to which they belong. When they vote for the candidate, they do not consider that they are voting for the man so much as for the principles he represents. The individuality of the man counts for nothing, the principles of the party count for everything. If the party is good the man cannot be wrong, if the party is bad the candidate cannot be good. "The king can do no wrong." My party cannot be wrong, and if the party cannot be wrong then the candidate who represents it is equally infallible. Some men would vote for anybody if put on the party ticket. To a Democrat a bad Democrat, no matter how bad, is better than a good Republican, no matter how good.

This is the extreme view of putting principles above men, but it is the correct view under our system of party government.

Mr. Chanler, candidate for governor, said: "Ours is a government of party, rather than of men. Elections are determined upon principles, rather than personalities." The party is the instrument by which the people express themselves. It is a poor tool, but it is all we have. The candidates are but the clerks of the parties, they are bound to execute the party principle, and the principles of the party are the all-important things. If we have bad men within a party, it is proper to reduce them to the ranks and not let them be leaders. It is our duty to choose good men to lead our parties, but if bad men do secure control of our party, we must not desert the party for it expresses our principles. We must be as loyal to our party organization as to our homes, and we must not vote against our party because it is in control of dishonest men any more than we would desert our home because



the house lacks some modern improvements. Our party is the best thing we have, we want to have the best men we can as our candidates, but no matter how bad they are, they are our candidates.

*How the Organization Acts.*

The party is made up of the organization and the voters. The organization consists of committees—national, state, county, city, town and ward. These committees provide the means by which the members of the party act. Nominations must be made and platforms must be written at conventions which represent the people. Then the “campaign of education” must be carried on. The dates for holding the various conventions are decided upon. The town or ward committee announces the date of the primary or caucus and selects a place for holding the primary, selects candidates for delegates and for new committees, has the names printed on ballots, chooses inspectors of election who attend the primaries, and then the members of the party come along and vote for the candidates the committee has picked out for delegates and new committeemen. These delegates and committeemen are the party organization, from now on everything is in their hands. The delegates hold a county or district convention and choose some of their number as delegates to state conventions, etc. After the members of the party give their consent to be governed at the primary, the rest is all clock work. The various delegates get together and do what the people want done. The ward or town committee pick out the men the people of each district want, that is what the committee is for. These men picked out by the committee are so good that the members are not even given a chance to vote for any other candidates for delegates. The committeemen are very smart men, they know what the members of the party want without asking them. The committee know whom the people want for certain officers and they know



what principles they want in the platform, and if the people do not know, why it is the duty of the committee to inform them.

The delegates and committees represent the members of the party, and what the delegates and committees do is just the same as if the people were doing it themselves. It is impossible for all the members of the party to get together and so they must have representatives. The committeemen and delegates are mostly public officers or those who want to be public officers, lawyers, and saloon-keepers—men who have plenty of leisure time to think of what the people want, men who have no interests different from those of the mass of the people—in fact they *are* the people. The saloons are always open for the people to come and tell what they want, the lawyers are always ready to give advice, and the officers are working day and night for the interests of the people, and those who want to be officers are working days, nights and Sundays for the people, so as to be in good practice when they get to be officers. So the members of the party have nothing to worry about, they have men to represent them, and when these men have nominated the candidates for office the members congratulate themselves on the wise choice they have made (through representatives), and are glad they were not deceived by their delegates the same as the members of the other party were. The members read the platform to see what they believe. It is best to know what one believes, although, of course, it makes no difference, for the officers chosen will know what the members want done and do it for them, yet, as the members have taken the trouble to express their belief (through the committee) they ought really to know what they have said. Now, all the members have to do is to go out on election day to vote, and thus beat the other party—and save the country.

Such is the theory of party government. Of course, we must do it this way because the President, Governor, and all the rest of the wise people say it is *necessary*.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRACTICE IN GOVERNMENT BY PARTY.

*A Young Man Enlightened.*

A young man had gone to college and had learned much about science, language, literature and history, but not much about our government. His attention was caught by the sentence. "This is a government of the people, by the people and for the people." He felt that he was one of them and was anxious to do his part of the work. His mind had been trained to study and he thought he would be able to take an intelligent part and be of some use.

He went to the office of the County Clerk and told what he wanted to do.

The clerk smiled and said :

"Well, you cannot do anything just now, but when election time comes around you can vote, and that is all the part you can take in the government."

"Oh, what is an election and what do I do when I vote?"

"Why, the Republican party nominates some men for offices and the Democratic party nominates some men for the same offices, and you can say by voting which of the two groups of men you want to govern you."

"Some one said this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

"Well, he was shot."

"But, don't the people govern themselves?"

"Oh, to be sure, my boy. You and the rest of the people say which of these two sets of men, Democrats or Republicans, you want to represent you, and they run the government for you, and that is the same as if you were doing it yourself."

"Is that the way I take part? That is not the way we used to play ball. But can't I say I want anybody else except one of those two sets of men those two parties you speak of have chosen?"

"Oh yes, the Prohibitionists and Socialists and some others also name candidates, but none of these are ever elected and you would be throwing away your vote if you vote for them."

"But if one or the other of these sets of men are to be chosen, and if they are already chosen by the party, is not my vote thrown away anyway? What is the difference?"

"Well, I see you don't understand politics."

"When do I go to these 'parties'?"

"You don't go to a 'party', or meeting such as you are thinking about. You don't *go* to the party, you *belong* to the party."

"Oh, what party do I belong to?"

"Why, to the same party your father does, of course. Ask him."

"What party do you belong to, Father?"

"I am a Democrat."

"Do I belong to that party too?"

"Oh yes, my son, and I should be very much ashamed if you should belong to any other party."

"Well I am sure, Father, I never shall."

"That is right, my boy, always be a true patriot."

"Who else belongs to this party, Father?"

"Oh, all the good, honest people. The rascals and fools belong to the black Republican party."

"It must be awful to be a Republican. What can I do in this party? Do the parties have any meeting? How are these men the County Clerk calls candidates, picked out?"

"Well, I am not a politician. You go and ask my friend, Mr. B. He is a lawyer and will tell you all about it."

"Good morning, Mr. B. Father says you will tell me how the candidates are nominated, and how I can take part in governing the country."

"Well, it's like this. The people govern, but they must have two parties to do it for them. Of course, they could not do it without parties. Now, you want to take part. Well, your father has influence with me. How would you like to be alderman? That's a nice job."

"Oh, that would be fine if I only could be one."

"I will put your name down. The committee will nominate you. Of course, you are expected to do, when elected, just as I and the committee want you to do."

"Oh yes, you are so kind to put my name down for the committee that I shall feel anything I can do to repay you will be done willingly. My father told me always to be a patriot. But what office do you hold?"

"Oh (with a laugh), I am the boss."

"What does the boss do?"

"Oh, he keeps the committee posted, finds out who has the influence and what young men can be depended upon to do as the committee want them to do when they are elected."

"Who elects the committee and the boss?"

"Why, the committee *is* the committee. They pick their own members out. There is nobody back of them but me."

"How did you come to be boss?"

"I was on the committee and I have influence."

"I think I see. You have influence and you became boss. My father has influence and I am put on the list for alderman. Then I will have influence and can get something for my friends. Is that the way it goes?"

"Yes, you see through the game all right. I think you will be a good boss some day yourself."



"But, Mr. B, why don't you tell the people that this is a government of influence, by committees and bosses, for the people who have friends in office?"

"Ah, my boy, that is the game. The game is worth playing, and we must play it according to the rules of the game, and the first rule is to win, and you cannot win without influence and the boys."

*Some Authorities Quoted.*

President Roosevelt said to Mr. Harriman, the great Railroad King: "Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men . . . before I write my message I shall get you to come down to discuss certain government matters not connected with the campaign."

And the "practical" Mr. Harriman said:

"Whenever I want legislation from the legislature I can buy it; I can buy congress, and, if necessary, can buy the courts."

Governor Hughes said:

"The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with a party machine; that is, by dealing with the one man or with the few men who in any given community have secured such control."

Mr. Woodruff, chairman of the Republican State Committee, said:

"Under the present scheme I can adjust and arbitrate matters and arbitrate differences without a formal or public fight."

*The Growth of Bosses.*

How does it come that we have bosses? We have bosses for the same reason that we have kings, sickness and trusts. They are necessary for carrying on certain activities or they are the result of conditions and forces at work.

Economic conditions produce trusts, make trusts necessary. If all the men in trusts had never been born, the trusts would be in existence, other men would be in control of them. The institutions are greater than the men. The opportunity for forming a trust will develop a trust and a trust magnate. The opportunity for a king will bring a king. When sanitary conditions are proper for fever someone will be sick. Wherever there is food, there is some food eater to consume it.

Why is J. D. Rockefeller? There is oil in the ground. It becomes useful, people want it. Mr. Rockefeller sees that there is money in it. He gets hold of the lands, he improves the production of oil and builds up the trade. It is to his advantage to destroy competition and he does so. The opportunity is there, and he seizes the opportunity, therefore he *is*. Why was boss Platt? Why was Croker? Why is Nicholas II? The Czar is an institution, the child is born. The monarch is a part of the machine of empire. The millionaire is a part of the machine of production, just like the railroad, telegraph or engine. When there are great quantities of material to be transferred from place to place, there will be some means of shipping. Railroads are not built till they are necessary. As long as the people have wants to be supplied, and the means of supplying the wants can be controlled by a few men, we shall have trusts. We do not find the whale in the tub but in the great sea. Where the opportunity is great, the achievement will be great. The grapes grow on the grape vines, and where the flowers bloom, we shall have bouquets.

Why is Platt? "Why does the Rochester football team have Mr. — for a leader?" is a little different than "Why does the Rochester football team have *a* leader?" It must have a leader. It does not need to have a particular man for a leader. The Republican party does not need to have Tom

Platt, but it must have a boss. Platt is simply a type, and when we ask why is Platt, we ask why has the party a boss. The boss is an office. Platt fills that office. How is he the boss or how did he grow to be the boss? What is lacking in the Republican party that he grows up to fill the place? Where is the defect? Why is the Republican or Democratic party? What is the void in our government that these parties fill? Where and what is the defect?

Why are there third parties? How many will there be? What will be the result of these parties? Why will there always be two parties as is commonly stated?

Why is Aldridge, and why is there not a Democratic boss of the same power and influence in Rochester? Why is there a boss in every city, and why is the great boss always of the most powerful party in that city? On what does the boss feed that he grows so great. Ah, this is the point, it is upon what he feeds that he makes himself great.

### *Favoritism.*

It does not matter so much who our officers are as how they are chosen. The same man chosen by different means under different circumstances will act like a different man. The source of his selection is like a light turned on an object. If the light is white the object appears white, if the light is yellow, the whole form is yellow. When a man is nominated to public office he is given a pair of glasses to wear by the power that nominates him, and they are colored to suit the taste of the man who gives the nomination.

Governor Hughes says: "But many office holders know there is no other court than that of the political leader, and upon the smile or frown of the leader they know their political life depends."

Senator Depew said that for many years the people of the State waited eagerly for the Republican State Convention when in session to name its candidate for governor

and other officers, but that the delegates to the convention waited for the voice from the "Amen Corner", the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York, the voice of Tom Platt, to tell them whom to nominate. This was telling tales out of school, but it gives us an insight into the methods of the party. Now, the governor or the officer who is created by the voice from the "Amen Corner", will naturally hear noises from that same corner after he becomes a public officer and wants to be re-elected or sent to some higher office. Every officer will honor his maker whether it be the people, the convention, the committee, or the voice from the Amen Corner; and as Governor Hughes says there are other nooks and corners besides that of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, from which come party raps and noises. No matter how good a private citizen a man may be, when he comes to be a public officer, he cannot serve both the boss and the people; he must love one and despise the other.

This is the secret of our bad government. The men who have been our officers have usually been able enough and respectable enough to begin with, but their association with the vultures that feed on the public, the leeches that suck their blood, and the sirens that lead them to their liquid graves, have defiled those entrusted with power and have bound them into a "league with death and a covenant with hell." The evils that our officers give us or permit us to suffer and endure are hatched from the eggs of the party serpent. It has bruised our heels, but hardly have we touched its head. Shall it be destroyed, or shall we say: "Come into the garden, dear little serpent, and beguile our servants into the paths as crooked as the folds of thine own body, lay thine eggs under the altar of government, and the fervent heat of the people's devotion shall hatch out the fatal brood, and we shall make thy image of brass and carry it before our eyes as we go forth to thy worship."



Mr. Bryan said one way he proposes to let the people rule more than they do is to let them elect United States Senators by direct vote. The members of the United States Senate are able men, and the people could not pick out men better qualified to act for them, but the qualifications that make them good servants of the people make them good servants of the trusts. Here is the travesty of representative government. Here is the "Millionaire's Club", the highest deliberative legislative body in the world, the Senate of the great American Republic, acting for the "interests" that hold ninety million people in a grasp more cruel and more binding than the slaves' shackles. Yes, it is the Millionaires' Club with which the people are driven to their task of supporting by the sweat of their brows the greatest system of monopolies that ever crushed down or had the power to crush down the pillars of the State, and such a State—built up out of the courage of American manhood and the devotion of American womanhood.

Who elects this august body of legislators? The party bosses in their respective States suggest the name of the candidates, and the State legislators chosen by the "direct" vote of the people, approve. Whether the voice from the "amen corner", the word of the boss, the deliberation of the convention or the meditation of the committee suggest the name of the candidate, the people must approve.

Friendship and favoritism are guides to the men in public office just as they are guides to the men in private business. The man in office has in his power many favors to bestow. On whom shall he bestow them? His friends. He has many opportunities to use the power of his office for the benefit of an individual or the people. Which will he choose? It is human nature to favor those who favor us; to favor, not those who have favored us but those who can favor us or whom we hope will favor us. To those who put us in

office and who can keep us there, advance us or retire us to private life, we look for advice. To them we turn with our gifts and grants of public favor. Public office is a party trust to be used to distribute the good things to the directors of the trusts. The law cannot change human nature, and as long as election laws bring about the conditions that make public officers intimates of the wielders of influence, the men with the money, so long shall we have a government of favoritism, by those who are chosen as a favor, for those who have favors yet to give.

*What Is the Boss?*

The word "boss" is used so much that it is well to clearly define its meaning. The boss is an office, not an officer. The question is not "who is the boss," but "what is the boss?" Bosses may come and bosses may go, but bossing goes on forever. The boss's name may be Platt, Croker, Woodruff, Murphy or many other names that may be mentioned. There are bosses in towns, wards, counties, cities and states. There are bosses in both parties and bosses outside of parties. It does not matter that we turn a boss out of office now and then, we still have the office of boss to be filled by some one.

The boss is an institution, it is a constitution within our written constitution of government. It is a law within our election laws, it is the supervising office of all our public offices.

Where is this office located. It is in the White House, in the committee rooms of both houses of Congress, in the congressional lobbies, in the halls of our state legislatures and in their lobbies, in every city hall and county court house, in every town office, in the saloon, in the "street", in the office of every corporation lawyer, wherever two or three are gathered together in the name of graft to talk over the distribution of favors, *there* is the office of boss and there is the

boss in office. When a railroad King goes to the White House to talk over the President's message to Congress, the boss looks over their shoulders as they hold their secret conference. When the ward heeler picks out the delegates or committeemen for his party in the back room of the saloon, the boss whispers into his ear. When an insurance company gives one hundred thousand dollars to the campaign fund of a party, the president of the company and the treasurer of the party clasp hands in the presence of the boss. The boss is not seen but felt. It takes no commands but gives orders. It is both feared and obeyed.

The boss is favoritism. It is influence, it is pull, it is the God of the politicians, it is the great politician. Yea, it is the State. "I am the State" said the King of France. "We, the people of the United States," said the framers of the Constitution. Yes, they were the State, they built the temple of government, and then they locked the door and threw away the key.

A poor man who lived in a hovel, by much hard work built him a beautiful house, and when it was done he looked it over, locked the door, threw away the key, and went back to live in his hovel. Some tramps came along, picked the lock of the door, entered and became boss of the house.

In the temple of government there is one chamber where the people were to rule. The people were to choose officers and to express their will, and that chamber was to be the scene of their activities. It was to be fitted up as a parliamentary assembly room for the people, and the key, an election law that would open the door to the people, was to be made for them. But it was not done. The party tramps broke into the hall and fitted it up with the paraphernalia of "party organization". At one end of the hall they have raised a dais, on which they have made a golden image of the "boss", the personification of what was meant to be the



people ruling, the people entrusted with power, democracy triumphant. But how different. There are rows of benches at which the faithful kneel with bowed head before the brazen image, which has in its outstretched arm a lighted torch shelding "party spirit" over the room, where should sit enthroned the Goddess of Liberty. Before the altar is a "ballot box". On one side is marked "vote here", and on the other side is the word "plums". Around the sides of the hall is the large gallery where the people may witness the sacrifice and ceremonies. They are permitted to cast certain bits of approved paper into the ballot box as they pass out, and then the attendants to the "boss" open the box on the other side and take out the plums.

This is the Boss. Here sits the God of party passion, party devotion, and party bigotry enthroned on the very shrine of liberty. Here is the power of the "state". Here public conscience is stifled with the incense of "party necessity". Here favoritism receives its reward from the horn of plenty and confidence betrayed feeds fat its grudge.

What is the boss? It is the spirit of favoritism that pours the golden oil into the ever dry boxes of the party machine. It is the pasture of favoritism in which the elephant and donkey feed on what has made them great. It is the orchard of favoritism where unto the tree of popular rule are grafted the branches of individual opportunity and personal government.

What is the boss? It is the opportunity for private gain and public plunder. The police commissioner of New York City says he was offered six hundred thousand dollars not to enforce the law against certain interests. Such conditions as these which exist in New York, and in other large cities, have been and are the bosses of many public officers. Where did Croker and other men who have regulated the power of the boss, get their money? Perhaps they raise plums. Per-



haps! When a city council has an opportunity to grant a street railroad franchise worth millions of dollars to a private corporation, the power to make the "deal" between the council and the corporation, is the boss, and the man who regulates this power, the man who engineers the deal, the man who sees that everything goes through all right, he is the boss.

What is the boss? There is a public office to be filled. The people are to vote for a candidate suggested to them. The power to suggest that candidate is the boss. The man who exercises this power of suggestion is the boss.

What is the boss? The Constitution says the people shall choose certain officers, but makes no provision for their doing it. The laws have made no provisions for their doing it. The people must vote for these officers, but they have no means of deciding on whom they shall vote for. The power to decide this is the boss. The man who exercises this power is the boss.

Between the constitutional right of the people to elect their officers and the actual opportunity to elect them is a vacuum, the empty council chamber, the impotency of the people. The Constitution is one cell of the battery of popular government and the people are the other cell, but they have not been connected. They have not been organized for activity. They have not been wired together. The wire that brings the two together, that connects the Constitution with the people, that enables the power of government to pass from the people to the officers under the Constitution, is the party wire. Through this wire the current of the people's authority must flow. This wire is the nomination or suggestion of candidates for office. This is what was omitted from our laws. The people were not organized to express themselves, but organizations have sprung up which pretend to represent the people and to express their wants. These are

the party organizations. These are the bosses of the people. The man who can regulate the current through the party wire is the party boss and the boss of the people.

There are several men who want to be candidates for a certain office and certain men who would be suitable candidates. One must be picked out. How shall it be done? There must be a clearing house where the right values are given to each candidate and the one with the highest public value selected. This clearing house should be the parliamentary assemblies of the people, but that not having been provided for, the clearing house is the office of the boss. He sifts them out, he runs them through the hopper of the party machine. He separates the wheat from the chaff and gives the people the chaff. Yes, he is the boss.

Who is the boss? He has different names and different characters, different abilities and different opportunities. There is the boss who can approach the keeper of a Sunday saloon or a dive, and the boss who can approach the Governor of a State or the President of the United States. There is the boss who can solicit a campaign fund from the man who wants protection for running a joint, and there is the boss who can help a President write his message to Congress and raise for him a campaign fund of a quarter of a million of dollars. There is the boss who rounds up the voters who cannot read, and the boss who steals the Presidency of the United States by thieving election tricks.

The public service offers unbounded opportunities for graft. The men who seek these opportunities form a brotherhood of interest, they co-operate for the accomplishment of their ends, they organize themselves as a party. Selfishness divides the plums; selfishness, favoritism, cunning and opportunity combine to make a division. The spirit of harmony that comes over the warring interests is "boss", and the man who can manage this spirit in his fellowmen and

divide up the spoil to please his fellows and enrich himself, is "the boss".

The Constituent Parliamentary Assembly room of the people is the clearing house at which all these elements, interests, and influences will be burned as chaff thrown into the fire. The party tramps will flee, and the bosses who have feasted themselves on public spoils will content themselves with fasting.

### *How Parties Govern Us.*

Senator Depew and Governor Hughes tell us how party nominations are made. The Governor says: "That the present method of nominating party candidates by delegates at conventions is, in the main, a farce, is likewise indisputable. Upon this question of fact the people of the State, with a knowledge of the actual practices of conventions, are competent to reach a conclusion. Sophistry cannot obscure the actual working of our convention system. Delegates generally are like a stage populace who are selected for the purpose of shouting lustily when they get the cue from the leading actors of the political drama. And they seldom play any other part. You have in New York City an object lesson of political domination, notorious throughout the world, which shows not only the possibilities but the logical results of our system. And in our up-state counties also there are local oligarchies and despotisms."

"Not long ago Senator Depew, in a candid speech at the final ceremonies in the 'Amen Corner' of the old Fifth Avenue Hotel, is reported to have said (and I do not understand that the accuracy of the report has ever been questioned): 'It has often been asked where the real capital of the State of New York was located. Well, since before the time many of you were born, the capital of this state has been right here where I am standing. \* \* \* \* \* There have been many conventions at Saratoga, when the whole State waited

breathlessly for 900 delegates to decide on a ticket—which was made up complete and in apple-pie order right in this corner.’”

The Governor tells how deals are made with party managers: “The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with a party machine; that is, by dealing with the one man or with the few men who in any given community have secured such control.”

State Chairman Woodruff tells us how he can make deals. In speaking of the proposed direct nominations bill, which threatens to make the leaders a little trouble in keeping control of the organization, he says: “Under the present scheme I can adjust and arbitrate matters and arbitrate differences without a formal or public fight; under the plan involved in this bill this would not be possible, and every primary would be the occasion of a disastrous struggle which would leave the party disrupted and exhausted on the eve of its real contest with its real enemies.”

State Chairman Connors might tell us something if he would.

Mr. Croker told us that he worked for his own pocket all the time, while he was the leader of Tammany Hall, the Democratic organization that has for years ruled New York City and spent much money. His present life of luxury bears out his testimony that he was thinking more of his pockets than the pockets of the people.

The report of the Chicago Grand Jury tells us how the politicians make themselves successful at the polls.

Commissioner Bingham of New York City tells of the rich gold mine that is to be worked in public office. He said: “This job of police commissioner, for example, would be a regular gold mine to a dishonest official. If it were put up at auction to the highest bidder, a man could well afford to



pay one million dollars for a year's opportunity to accept what the criminal classes would be only too glad to offer him." He says that he was offered six hundred thousand dollars a year if he would protect certain criminal interests by simply not prosecuting them.

During the last campaign Mr. Hearst exposed a number of men high in official life by showing their connection with the Standard Oil Co.

Even the President of the United States got Mr. Harri-man and the cabinet officers to raise a large campaign fund to "save" New York, and then invited the same Mr. Harri-man to come to Washington to talk over the message. The life insurance investigation that brought Mr. Hughes into prominence exposed the manner in which political committees take money from corporations for favors to be granted in return.

After contemplating it all, an honest man feels like shrinking from such company altogether, or going into it with a pitchfork and muckrake.

The search of Diogenes through our capitals with his lantern would fail to discover the honest man. When we find a man who will not steal in public life, we lose control of ourselves in praising him, as if only one honest man could be found in a generation.

Is such a cancerous growth, such a rotten sore of corruption in our body politic necessary? Must we endure such government? Is it "undesirable" to destroy parties?



## CHAPTER VIII.

## PARTY GOVERNMENT A NECESSARY FAILURE.

*The Theory.*

The theory of representative government is that the people choose officers to represent them, to speak in place of the people, and that this is done because the people cannot meet together to tell what they want.

The theory of party action is that men who have common opinions, men who want the same kind of laws or the same principle of government enacted into law, will form an organization and act together as a party. Such a party is entirely outside the constitution and laws, and is merely a voluntary association of individuals actuated by a common desire and purpose working together for a common end to get their desires enacted into laws. The men who want socialism will form a socialist party. The men who want free trade will form a party to express that principle, and those who want protection will have a party of protection. Each principle or question will have its party to express or represent it.

Each party nominates candidates for public office and tries to have them elected.

When a party is successful in getting its officers elected, the principle or question for which that party stands, is enacted into law,—perhaps. The party in power represents a majority of the people, and it is proper for the officers to do what that majority have said in their platform they wish done. That is the theory of government by majority and of government by parties.

*The Practice.*

The theory would be all right-IF—

If there was but *one* question that all the people wanted to decide, and if that question was clearly and distinctly

stated and presented so there would be two clear sides to it, then that theory would be all right, then the people could take sides and by voting for one party or the other determine what the majority of the people want, and the officers elected would be able to pass a law giving the people what they ask for.

BUT there are a great many questions and principles that are very important to a great many people, a great many questions they want to decide. Some want to decide the question of socialism; some want to discuss government ownership of railroads, or telegraphs, or mines; others want to pass on an income tax; there are advocates of the single tax; some want to talk about the gold standard, and some want the double standard and some want free silver; some want paper money; some want free trade and some must have protection; some want to guarantee bank deposits; some want state insurance; some say the women should vote and some say the men who cannot read should not vote; but we all want what we *want*, and that we can get through the Washington Party. That party proposes to let us all have just what we want, and that is why we are all going to join that party soon.

But let us take up just one general question to see how many divisions there are to it, and how many parties there would have to be to give the people a chance to express themselves upon it.

Let us take up the temperance question. Some want prohibition straight, some want the state dispensary similar to the plan of South Carolina; some want high license; some want low license; some want local option for cities; some want county option; some want open saloons on Sunday and some want them closed. It would take half a dozen parties to settle this one question of temperance because there are so many different phases of the question, and each party can

represent but one side of each proposition. Now, if each feature of this question was represented by a party and all the people would let all the other questions rest and give their attention to this question of temperance, what would be the result of the election? Why, no party would have a majority of votes, and no party would probably have enough votes in the legislature to pass any kind of law. Most of the people of the state are temperate and want some restriction of the liquor traffic, and if they had a chance to express themselves they would be able to do so. Will not a majority vote for some phase of the question? Probably not. Will not a majority of the people want the saloons closed on Sunday? Probably they would say so if they had the chance to do so, but they cannot do so unless we cut out all other questions and make them consider this one question, "Shall the saloons be closed on Sunday?" If we have each phase of the question represented by a party, then each voter can vote for but one party. The man who votes for straight prohibition, of course, wants the saloons closed on Sunday, but he cannot vote for prohibition and for closing the saloons on Sunday at the same time. If he votes for prohibition he must actually vote against the party that wants to close the Sunday saloons. To close the saloons on Sunday we must elect the Sunday closing saloon party to power, and every vote cast for prohibition is a vote counted against the Sunday closing party. Every man who votes for high license votes against the proposition to close the saloons on Sunday. Every man who votes for the dispensary system votes against closing the Sunday saloon, for all those votes count against that party. But you say the man who votes for prohibition would have a Sunday closing plank in his platform. True, but unless his party is put in power the planks of his platform amount to as much as the planks in a sunken ship. It is the principle behind the party that gets the most votes that



counts, and all other votes amount to nothing. If the party that wants open saloons on Sunday should get four hundred thousand votes, the party that wants closed saloons three hundred thousand, the party that wants prohibition three hundred thousand, the party that wants high license two hundred thousand, the party that wants the state dispensary, but not on Sunday, three hundred thousand, and the party that wants low license and no Sunday saloons, one hundred thousand, what would be the result? Why, the saloons would be open by a vote of the people acting through the wonderful political parties, that proposition would have a clear plurality of one hundred thousand votes. But there are twelve hundred thousand votes cast by men who do not want the open saloons. True again, but their votes don't count, they are scattered among several parties and each has fewer votes than the party that stands for open saloons. You see our party system makes us vote for parties and not for principles. When we vote for the prohibition party we cannot have our influence counted for any other temperance party, but our vote is against all those parties. Only votes for candidates who win, are of any account. If the prohibitionists could vote for prohibition and also vote to close the Sunday saloon, the proposition to close the saloon would be carried, because this proposition would receive the votes of the prohibitionists and the votes of the Sunday closing party combined, but under the party system their votes cannot be combined, one must work against the other. We must vote for parties, and it is only the votes cast for the party that wins, that count. If one party wants to open the saloons on Sunday, anybody who wants his vote counted against the proposition must vote with the party that stands for that one principle. When there is such a party, it is throwing away one's vote to vote for prohibition and Sunday closing, for high license and Sunday closing, or for anything else and Sun-

day closing. It is only the vote that is cast for Sunday-closing that counts. If that party receives the most votes, the votes that the party of prohibition receives may be sympathy votes, but in the game of politics they are thrown away.

The King's highway is the path of the successful party, the party that gets a plurality vote, and all travelers under any other banner, no matter how good their intentions may be, are on the losing path. They will never "*Get there.*"

Through political parties it is impossible for the people to actually express themselves on the liquor question, because there are more than two sides to that question. The man who wants prohibition cannot register his vote for any other phase of the question that may be represented by any other party, and he cannot vote for any other principle outside of the liquor question that may be represented by other parties. In the above illustration we see that a party representing one-fourth of the voters of the State may secure the enactment of its principles, while three-fourths of the people are against its principles. Thus the party that stood for open saloons with four hundred thousand votes had a plurality of one-hundred thousand over the next highest party, but all the minority parties had a vote of twelve hundred thousand, three times as much as the party that carried the election. All these minority parties wanted the saloons closed on Sunday, but that was a secondary question in their platforms. The prohibitionists wanted prohibition altogether, but of course, they want the saloons closed on Sunday, yet, if they want to vote for prohibition they cannot also vote for closing the saloons on Sunday. They can have the principle in their platform, to be sure, but the votes for the proposition to close the saloons have no more effect than their votes on the question of prohibition. Unless their party has a plurality vote, their votes amount to nothing. The votes that are cast for the winning party are the only

ones that count, and the principles represented by the party are the only principles that receive the approval of the people. Is a system that works so ill as this a success? Is it not rather a cumbersome blundering failure?

But, you may say, "Let the people who want the saloons closed Sunday vote for the party that proposes to close them on Sunday." Very well, those who want the saloons closed on Sunday and think that is the most important proposition to vote for, do vote for it. The prohibitionist thinks the saloon should be closed on Sunday, but he thinks they should be closed altogether and votes for the greater proposition, and therefore, he cannot vote for what he considers the minor question. Under our government can four hundred thousand voters have their way against the sentiment of twelve hundred thousand? Very easily, if the twelve hundred thousand voters are divided upon other questions into parties, no one having as many as four hundred thousand votes. That is the trick in democratic government when we must have parties to represent principles, when we cannot vote except we vote for a party, which must necessarily have one main proposition. If we could make all the people vote for the question whether the saloons shall be open on Sunday, the vote would stand four hundred thousand for, and twelve hundred thousand against, and they would be closed with a bang; but the twelve hundred thousand voters have other things in their minds, and by voting for what they think most important, do not combine their votes, and the saloons run wide open. We cannot make the people vote on this one question of Sunday closing without making them give up their little parties and join one of the parties that stand for Sunday closing or for Sunday opening. If we think of making the people all vote on the Sunday closing proposition, some will say why not make them vote on the high license question? Why not make

them all vote for or against low license, why not make them all vote for or against prohibition? Why? Indeed. Why not?

Why not have them all vote for or against woman suffrage? Why not have them vote for or against any of one hundred possible questions that some one of the people want to vote for? We cannot make the people confine their voting and their parties to one phase of one question, but unless we do that they cannot express themselves properly on that question. If we could do this, then the greater question would come up. "What question shall we make them consider?" There are many propositions to decide. Now, which one shall we decide first? Every party would want its question decided first, and we would have to take a vote to see which question was to be decided first, and that is what a vote for a third party really amounts to. A vote for socialism is simply a notice that the man who casts that vote wants the question of socialism considered, but if the mass of the people are thinking about other questions, socialism will not be considered, and the vote that the socialist party does *not* receive, does *not* represent the vote "against" socialism. It represents the vote of those who think some other question is more important than socialism just now.

"There is more than one hole in the skimmer." Yes, the political party skimmer is full of holes. I put my skimmer, my wish for political principles, into the pool of political issues and try to skim out some questions that are floating around in the pool like noodles in the soup. I want to skim out women suffrage noodles. I see many there that look like women suffrage noodles, and probably do have the label on them somewhere, but when I put my skimmer into the soup and begin to lift it up, I find that noodles begin to slip away and crawl through the holes, one goes through the free trade hole, another slips out of the protection mesh,



still one more falls down through socialism, a nice promising looking one plumps through the big opening for free silver back into the soup, and so on till I pull my skimmer out and find that I have only my one vote in the form of a poor little noodle that did not slip through the party mesh.

### *The Necessity.*

It is said parties are necessary. What are they necessary for? They are necessary to nominate candidates for office so the people can decide between those nominated by the different parties. That is a peculiar idea. Must the people disagree through parties on candidates so they can agree by voting on officers? Is it necessary to have a good man picked out by one party and a bad man picked out by the other party so that the good man may be elected? Would it not be proper to have the people organized into one party so they could pick out just a good man and not run the risk of having the bad man chosen to office? Why must they be put into two camps to make a contest over two men who are picked out by the parties without any contest?

Of course, some organization is necessary to nominate candidates for office and the people must take the candidates proposed by one of the parties.

Parties sprung up for a different purpose than to merely nominate candidates for office. Parties were born to express principles, as we have seen. Principles are more than men, parties are more than candidates for office. Principles are the life of institutions, candidates are merely the banner carriers for the parties. A party has no excuse for existence save as it represents a principle.

Under the chapters on "Organization" and "Direct Nominations" we discuss the necessity of parties for the purpose of nominating candidates. In this chapter we deal with the parties as organizations for the expression of prin-

ciples, and purpose to show that as a means for the expression of the principles of the people, they are failures, and clumsy devices suitable for savages and for the government of people who cannot read or write, who cannot govern themselves.

*We Cannot Express Ourselves.*

*Even* if all the people were educated, *even* if all the politicians were honest, *even* if all the people attended their party primaries, and voted at elections, *even* if they had direct nominations and if the best men were always nominated for office, *even* if the party voters actually met and each party decided on what principles it wanted to advocate, *government by parties would still be a failure.*

What are parties supposed to be necessary for? They are supposed to be necessary to represent principles. But a party can represent only one important principle at a time, only one side of one question, and there may be several sides to this question. We cannot express our wishes by voting for a party. If there is a party that expresses our views on some one question, we can vote for that party and thus vote for the principle it represents, but we know that all the people who believe in that same principle are not voting for it because some of them are in other parties that do not consider that principle as being important and they will therefore not think much about it, or vote for it. To get a complete expression of the will of the people on a question it is necessary to have the people divide on that one question and on no other, their attention must be on one proposition at a time.

Suppose I want free trade and the dispensary system and my neighbor wants free trade and prohibition. For us two voters there must be three parties in order to enable us to express ourselves on these three propositions, to say nothing about the many questions that we may like to consider.

To consider these three questions we would need a prohibition party, a dispensary system party and a free trade party, and then we will not know which party we want to vote for. If I want two questions, free trade and dispensary system, I must sacrifice one in order to vote for the other. Now, which shall I vote for and which shall I give up? If I decide that free trade is the most important I will vote for that party, and my neighbor, we will say, thinks prohibition is the chief issue and votes for that party. That does not please me at all. I cannot vote for my side of the liquor question, and my neighbor who ought to vote with me for free trade, because he believes in it, will persist in voting for prohibition. The principle of free trade ought to have two votes instead of one. The dispensary system ought to have one vote and it gets none. Is not the party system a failure in expressing the will of the people? If we were men capable of having only one little idea at a time, and if all the people could be made to consider this same one little idea, then government by parties would be successful.

Vastness of territory and diversity of industry and social conditions bring up many questions of importance for consideration simultaneously. One party can represent but one principle at a time. The people can put but one party in power at a time, and it takes a generation for a party to get into power and do what it was chosen to do. With the political horizon darkened by problems vital to social existence America has stood midst the din of parties and the war of factions for forty years waiting the adjustment of the tariff. Just now we are passing through a period of disturbances and fright, not knowing what will be done with it, the Congress having been called into special session to consider it. After all these years of discussion and turmoil, after having complete control of the government for twelve years, the Republican President calls a Republican Congress

together in extra session to do what should have been done long ago,—and is the end yet? Shall we not have the tariff in the next campaign?

*We Want to Vote for Principles.*

Why, you say, "There can be a party for every principle or question that people want to decide, they can have as many parties as they want, you can start one yourself if you do not find one to suit you." Very true, we can have all the parties we want, but we cannot vote for all the parties we want, and that is the whole trouble. If I could vote for all the parties I want to, I would not be writing this book. Do I want to vote for more than one party? Well, I want to vote for the principles that are expressed by more than one party. I do not care about the party if I can vote for the principles. I have more than one idea on public questions and I know most other people have several ideas. I am willing to let each one vote for what he wants, and am anxious to have him do so, and that is all I want. The man who wants prohibition can vote for prohibition, but the man who wants prohibition also wants many other principles that he cannot vote for, and I want him to have a chance to vote for all he wants. I want this to be a free country, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience and freedom in voting for what we want. The Constitution says that the right to vote should not be denied. I want that provision of the Constitution to be in actual force.

I want to vote for certain principles and I want all the people who agree with me on these principles to be able to vote with me for them. They cannot do so now. Cannot all the men who want prohibition vote for it? No, they cannot. Some of the men who want prohibition also want socialism, and they vote for socialism, and they cannot vote for socialism and prohibition at the same time. Some men want government ownership of railroads. Cannot they start a



party and vote for that principle? They can start a party, but all the people who want government ownership cannot vote for it because they want other things that they will vote for.

Let every man vote for all the parties he wants to. How can he do it? Let him vote for the *principles* of all the parties he wants to. Can he do this? Yes. The man who believes parties are necessary, does not see how a man can vote for a principle without voting for a party. It could not be done when people were savages. Now we are educated, we can read and write, now we can say what we want, now we can express our wishes by the ballot, now we can vote for free trade without having to vote for a free-trader,—if the principle of the Washington Party is operative in the government.

The men elected to office do not have to believe what we do. They are to do what we tell them we want done.

Let the people rule. When the government was formed there were few newspapers, but newspapers have come to enlighten the people. There were no telegraphs, no telephones, but they have come to connect all the world into one little village where each can hear all the others talk. There were few schools and each man had to pay for the education of his children. Now, we have free schools, and all the children must be educated, and these free schools have come without the work of parties, they have grown up as a part of our lives in spite of party. There were not postoffices, but they came. At first the postal service was run by private individuals, and then the government took it up. We did not have parties, but they came. What did they come for? To enable the people to express themselves. They came as private affairs. But we say they do not enable the people to express themselves, but rather prevent them from doing so. Under the pretense of enabling the people to ex-

press themselves, they enable the politicians to take the place of the people in exercising the powers of government. As the government provided for the sending of letters among the people, so that they could express themselves more fully, let them now take the machinery of political organization into their hands, and let them destroy party organization and substitute in its place the organization of all the people. Parties are necessary! No, the people are necessary. Organization is necessary, but will it be the people that shall be organized instead of the masters of the people to rule over them?

*Can Not Combine Principles.*

You may say you can put two or more principles, all the principles you want, into one party platform. Yes. The more principles you put into a party platform the less voters you will have in the party. If you put in all the principles that are up for discussion you will not have anybody in the party, for there will be some principles in the platform that will be opposed by every voter. Each person will object to one or more planks of the platform. If you have just one principle in the party you can get the people to vote for that if they want to. But the principle that will bring one person into the party will drive away another person.

People do not agree on enough questions to be put into "parties". Parties are for classes, and there are no classes in America distinct enough to have parties. We had a Northern party and a Southern party, a slavery party and a free party, and we had the greatest civil war the world has ever seen. Europe has had Catholic parties and Protestant parties, and she has had centuries of religious wars. Armenia has a Christian party and a Mohammedan party, and massacres. Washington feared parties as the exponents of classes, and they can be nothing but exponents of classes. Party government is necessarily class government. The man

who says we must have parties would say we must have classes and class government. We may have a laboring class party and a capitalist class party, and if parties are really necessary we shall have them. Unless the government organizes the people so that all classes can get their just reward, the classes will organize themselves as political parties to secure in the scramble of elections what the others seek to deny them. From the war of bullets we advance to the more cruel war of ballots. When the ballot comes to represent merely force to be used by those possessing the right of franchise to defend themselves and get what they can from their fellowmen, then we shall experience the logical results of party government. If that is necessary, then we may as well begin to build the pyramids to adorn the ruins of American democracy and to warn the builders of future civilizations when the people shall clear away the wreck of our failure.

### *Sample Election.*

To show how clumsy is our system of voting for a party in order to vote for a principle, and to show how ill-adapted is the method to letting the people express themselves, I have prepared a diagram showing how ten men belonging to ten parties would vote: First, when voting for parties, or putting a check mark over a party column or pulling a "party" lever. Second, when voting for principles rather than for parties, or putting a check mark, vertical or horizontal, over the column of each principle or pulling a "principle" lever.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	For	Against
Socialism .....	I	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	4	6
Free Trade.....	I	I	—	—	I	—	I	I	I	I	7	3
Protection.....	—	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	3	7
Prohibition .....	I	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	—	4	6
Gov. Ownership	I	I	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	I	5	5
Women Suf.....	—	—	I	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	3	7
Income Tax.....	I	I	—	I	I	—	I	I	—	I	7	3
Corporation Tax	I	I	—	—	—	—	I	I	I	I	6	4
Direct Nom.....	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	I	I	3	7
Wash. Party.....	I	I	I	I	I	—	I	I	I	I	9	1

The names in the left-hand column are the names of parties. There is one voter for each party, ten men in all. If these vote according to party, each party would receive one vote, as shown by the vertical marks in the columns numbered 1, 2, etc. The vote of the socialist is marked in column one. The vote of the free trader is marked in column two, etc. These marks are in heavy type, and show that each party receives one vote. The light vertical marks in column one show how the members of the other parties would vote on the question of socialism. Vertical marks mean "for" and horizontal marks mean "against"; thus, the free trader votes for socialism, the protectionist votes against socialism, the prohibitionist votes for it. The marks in the second vertical column show how the members of the parties vote on "free trade"; the socialist votes for it, the protectionist votes against it, the prohibitionist votes against it, etc. Each man can vote for his own principle (or party) and can also vote for or against each of the other principles; instead of there being one vote for each party, there will be ten votes cast on each principle, for or against. As a result of such an election we will know the wishes of each of the ten men in re-



gard to each of the ten principles, and will have a perfect expression of the will of the people.

The last two columns show the result of the vote, how many vote for and against each principle. Thus, four vote for socialism and six against it; seven vote for free trade and three against it, etc.

### *Pooling Issues.*

To show how putting planks or issues into a party will drive away voters, I produce a diagram which shows that if these ten questions before discussed, were put into one platform, they would not receive the vote of a single one of the ten men, but that if the ten principles could be voted for separately by each of the voters, each question would receive nine affirmative votes.

Each man approves nine of the principles, and each man opposes one of the principles, but the one principle that is opposed is a different one in the case of each man, and if all the principles are put into one platform, each man would have an objection to it, and each would have to vote for something he does not want or not vote for something he does want.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	For	Against
Socialism.....	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	—	I	9	I
Free Trade.....	I	I	—	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	9	I
Protection .....	I	—	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	9	I
Prohibition.....	—	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	9	I
Gov. Ownership.	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	—	I	I	9	I
Women Suf.....	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	—	9	I
Income Tax.....	I	I	I	—	I	I	I	I	I	I	9	I
Corporation Tax	I	I	I	I	—	I	I	I	I	I	9	I
Direct Nom.....	I	I	I	I	I	—	I	I	I	I	9	I
Wash. Party.....	I	I	I	I	I	I	—	I	I	I	9	I

*Rule of the Majority.*

Parties are necessary to nominate candidates for office, but when the candidates are nominated, it is impossible for the people to elect any candidates except those nominated by the parties. The party is necessary to enable the people to choose, and yet it prevents them from choosing except from one of the two great parties. Of all the men in the country, we can take our choice between two for president. Parties are necessary to enable the people to express their opinions, but parties make it absolutely impossible for the people to express their political opinions and give voice to them in the government.

We have seen how the people operate the government through parties in theory. The theory is very good if we do not stop to think how it works. But when we come to examine the working of the theory that the people rule themselves through the agency of parties, we find that the fruit of the theory is ashes.

A party can represent but one idea. The party must be in complete control of the government in order to get its idea enacted into law. It takes years for a party to grow strong enough to secure entire control of the government.

This is a government, then, in which under favorable conditions one idea can be enacted into law in a generation.

The Democrats want tariff reform and the Republicans want protection. Some people want to decide the question of prohibition. The democrats cannot have the two principles, tariff reform and prohibition, for all those who want tariff reform would not want prohibition. The Republicans could not advocate prohibition for similar reasons. So we must have a third party to express the principle of prohibition. Which of the two questions shall be decided?

In the election the voter would make up his mind on which side of the tariff question he would like to vote, and

on which side of the prohibition question he would like to vote; then he would have to make up his mind on which question he *would* vote, for he could not vote on both. He must make two decisions; first, "Which question is more important?"; second, "Which way shall I vote on the more important question?" It would be well to have a King to decide which is the more important question, and then have all the people consider this one question and forbid them to consider any other until this one is disposed of. If some try to consider the tariff question and some the prohibition question, there will not be a complete expression of the will of the people on either question. If the two questions were fairly discussed and voted on, the result might be something like this: fifteen million people might vote; four million for tariff reform, three and one-half million against it; four million for prohibition, and three and one-half million against it. We do not know whether the people want tariff reform or not, whether they want prohibition or not. Neither question has received a majority of the votes, neither vote represents the will of the people since neither is a majority vote. The seven and one-half million who vote on the tariff question have views on the prohibition question, but they cannot express their views. The seven and one-half million who vote on the prohibition question, have opinions on the tariff question, but their opinions are unexpressed. Election after election might pass with the questions still undecided because neither side could get a majority vote. Before either question can be decided the people will have to determine which question they will consider first. With several questions represented by several parties, it is impossible to know what the people want, except one party receive more votes than all other parties combined. Thus, if eight million vote for tariff reform, four million for protection, two million for prohibition, and one and one-half million for something else, we know that

the majority of the people want tariff reform. But the stronger third parties become the less likely it is that any one of the parties will receive a majority vote. So before the people can vote decisively on a question, they must decide on what one question they will vote.

*One at a Time.*

A party can represent only one principle at a time. There are at least a dozen questions that we would like to vote on, at the present time. A dozen people will have a dozen different views on these questions. If there were only a dozen people to vote it would probably be necessary to have a dozen parties to accommodate their views. A party with any considerable following can represent only one principle, for as soon as it tries to put two principles into its platform it will make it impossible for some of the people to belong to it, for there will be some who will want one of the principles but not the other. So, in order to make it possible for some of the people to vote for each of the principles of government, it is necessary to have a party for every principle. Then the people can take their choice, but they can choose only one principle out of the twelve. Only one party can hold the power of a government at a time, and the voter must choose the one he wants and let the other eleven go. There will be some people voting for each of the twelve principles represented by these twelve parties. And if there were twelve parties, how could any one of them secure control of the government? It ought to be so that each man could vote for or against all of the principles of all of the parties, for to him one may be just as important as another. Twelve parties are necessary in order to give the people a chance to vote on twelve questions, but they can vote on only one. The government has twelve diseases requiring twelve kinds of medicine, but you can give it only one kind, for one disease.



It must get over the other eleven diseases without medicine. If the people want to express their wishes on twelve points, they may vote for one and *wish* for the other eleven. We may take a vote of twelve men, and find that eight want prohibition, seven want free trade, nine want the gold standard, eight want government ownership of railroads, ten want the government to dig the Panama canal, eleven want to restrict immigration, twelve want peace, six want to annex Cuba, eight want women suffrage and nine want socialism. Now, what kind of parties can you figure out so that these people can express their wishes? Have a party for each principle? How many votes would each party receive? One, two, or three, and some not any. We can select one question and make them all vote on that one and decide that one. But what one shall we select? It would be harder to decide on what question to select than it would be to decide the question itself. If we could present the one important question, that all the people would consider, we could easily settle that one question, and then take the others. But who can say that we shall decide on one question in preference to another? Each party wants its remedy voted on right now.

The prohibitionists want their question settled now. Year in and year out they have faithfully voted for their principle, with a hope that sometime the question would receive the consideration of the people. The prohibitionists have other opinions, but they allow the Democratic and Republican parties to run the government as they choose, while they vote for their one principle. They really have no more to do with the government than if they lived in Mexico. As long as they vote for prohibition, with the other parties sure to win the election, they are practically disfranchised. They can vote and their votes are counted, but they do not count. The socialists want their principles settled, and year after year they vote in the hope that the people will consider their question as the one to be settled.

*Free Ballot.*

We may as well say to the Prohibitionists and Socialists, and all other third party people, "You cannot vote," and disfranchise them. Or we may say to them, "If you vote we will throw your votes away." That is what we do anyway. We say to them, "You can take part in the government and have your vote counted, but in order to do so you must vote for Mr. T. or Mr. B., and if you vote for anybody else, your vote is thrown out."

"The land of the free!" Suppose a man wants prohibition and socialism, has he not a right to express his wishes? How can he do it? Suppose a man who is a Republican by birth wants free trade, what can he do? Suppose a born Democrat wants protection? What did Democrats who wanted "gold" do in 1896? What did the Republicans who wanted protection and free silver do?

If the question that we think is most important is taken up by one of the two leading parties, we are fortunate. We can then vote on it, but we are disfranchised on all other questions. If the question that we consider most important is not taken up by one of the two leading parties, we are disfranchised altogether—we are as foreigners. We are under the government but not of it. We are governed, but not with our consent. We vote, but the votes do not count.

The more educated we are, the more likely we are to be in some third party. And if we were as wise as Socrates and we vote not for one of the two men who have been put up by politicians of the two great parties, our votes are of no account. But we see men who cannot read and do not think, vote for their Masters; their votes are counted, and their votes put men over us to govern us. It is not the intelligent who disfranchise the ignorant, but the ignorant under the politicians have disfranchised the intelligent. "The land of the free," if you do not want to think, but are willing to be a slave to the two great parties.

Suppose all the Prohibitionists, all the Socialists, all the Independence Leaguers, 40 per cent of the Democrats, 60 per cent of the Republicans, and all other parties and factions want government ownership of railroads. How are they going to get it if the two great parties will not give the people a chance to vote on it? Let them form a new party! But what will they do with the little parties they have already formed to express their choice of other principles? What can they do to get the 40 per cent of the Democrats and 60 per cent of Republicans to leave their party and vote for this principle?

Would it not be well if they could all vote for government ownership of railroads? Would it not be well if they could all vote on all of the many questions that are of interest and are of vital importance to the people to-day? Then it would be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Now it is a government *over* the people, without the *participation* of the people, and in *spite* of the people.

### *Throwing Away Votes.*

People hesitate to vote for third party ideas, but they will keep choosing between the two great parties because they know that one or the other will win, and they want to express their choice between the two. We say of people voting third party tickets: "You are throwing away your votes." We know that their little parties cannot win, that one of the two great parties is the only one that can succeed. So if the people form a third party to bring up some new question or some question that the others will not or do not bring up, they will be throwing their votes away. When the people really try to decide some question, when they strive to express their wishes in the government, they throw their votes away. When they vote for either of the two great parties, the politicians of which are "running" for the offices, they are not throwing their votes away, they are exercising their

"rights of citizenship!" But as soon as they become independent of the two parties and try to express their thoughts and wishes, then they throw their votes away! Is it not a queer state of affairs when, in a free country, if the people try to express their wishes in regard to the government, they will throw away their votes? If the people form parties to express their opinions, which is the only way to give expression to their opinions, *their votes are thrown away.*

We cannot express our wishes without parties, we certainly cannot express them with parties, and as far as representing the wishes of the people is concerned, our government, under party rule, does not do it, and cannot do it, and the people play a failure and a farce in pretending to express their wishes.

### *The Government Farm.*

A farmer hires a man to plant corn. He wants some potatoes planted. Can he instruct this man to plant them or must he hire another hand? Must he also employ another hand to plant beans, and still another to sow wheat? Must he hire a party to care for each crop or can he have a reliable man and have him first attend to one crop and then another?

Our government is a garden in which the growing plants are principles and policies. When we want free trade established, must we hire men who believe in free trade? Then if we want an income tax must we wait till the time of the free traders expires and hire another set of men who believe in an income tax? And when we can get rid of these men we may hire men who believe in prohibition to set the cold water plant. One plant at a time is all we can raise on this farm, because we can hire only one workman at a time and he must believe in what he does, and he can believe in only one thing at a time.



For forty years we have been trying to get the tariff planted, cultivated and harvested and out of the way so that we might plant something else in the garden, but there the plant is still growing with nothing but thorns on its branches, and every time we touch it it gives us a panic.

We have a choice variety of seed under different party labels that we would like to plant, but it will be ages before we shall have a chance to see what the plants are like if we have no better luck than we have had with tariff farmers.

After we hire a "party" to plant a certain crop for us, it is hard for us to discharge him; he will not go when his time is up but persists in staying, drawing his pay and keeping other men we want to hire from doing their work. The party gets possession of our farm and keeps possession after his work is done. Possession is nine points of the law, and one party gives way to another only after a bitter struggle.

Some years ago, when a high tariff law was being passed, one of the Congressmen exulting in the fact that his party was entrenched in power by the peculiar way United States Senators are elected, said that the baby boys of that time would wear whiskers before the law they were passing could be repealed. Surely the people do not rule. While they have been waiting for these tariff grubbers to get done with their job they have seen their garden fill up with a rank growth of weeds called "trusts". What shall the harvest be?

The idea that the officers of government must agree with the views of the majority of the people on questions of government is fit for children, it is suitable for a stage of development in which the people cannot express their wants. Government by parties means that we cannot govern ourselves. Parties are necessary as long as we cannot govern ourselves, and as long as we have parties we cannot govern ourselves.

*Third Parties.*

In 1908 there were seven candidates, and in 1900 there were eight candidates for President. Since 1840 there have been three or more candidates for President at each election, except during the Civil War when there were only two. Of course, in each campaign all the people knew that one or the other of the two great parties would win. The Democratic and Republican parties have stood first and second on the list when the votes were counted, and the others have been third parties.

In 1872, the Prohibition Party began, and now after ten national campaigns it has less than 2% of the total vote.

The Greenback Party had candidates in three campaigns and then ceased.

The American Party appeared four times, the last time with 1,500 votes in the United States.

1892 the People's Party appeared, made quite a strong showing, but in the fifth national election, 1908, had less than 1% of the total vote.

In 1888 two Labor Parties appeared, and in the last election one of them received one fourth of 1% of the votes.

The Socialist Party last year received about 3½% of the total vote.

The Independence League had its first national candidates in 1908 and received a few scattering votes.

We may ask in the light of these facts, what is the use of third parties? They have never made much impression on the other parties, and it looks as though they would not. Are not the principles for which they contend worthy, or have the principles of the two great parties been so overshadowing that the people would not consider other questions?

From 1880 to 1892 the issue between the two great parties was tariff reform. In the last four campaigns we have

heard a good deal of the same subject, and now, after twenty-eight years of discussion, the Republican party has decided that the tariff needs to be reformed at once, and the President has called Congress together in extra session to do it. But who will be satisfied with their work? Will it not be made the paramount issue by the Democrats in the next campaign, and has this question kept the people so spell-bound that they could not or would not join the third parties?

The people are in the two great parties. What is the use of their going out of them to throw away their votes? The people cannot find any party that expresses their views, and so they may as well stay where they are. Some men in the Democratic Party want free silver, some want gold, some want free trade, some protection, some government ownership, etc. The party stands for some things some of them want and some things that the rest of them don't want. But what is the difference? They cannot express their choice of principles in the party, they cannot express themselves outside of the party, so the only thing they can do is to vote for the party, and never mind the principles. The same with the Republicans. Many thinking men cannot see that there is much difference between the principles of the two great parties, that they both pretend to advocate everything good, and when entrusted with power they do nothing that is good. The two parties are bad enough, what is the use of making the strife worse with more parties? The people are sick of parties.

#### *Failure in Party Theory.*

Parties are supposed to give expression to the views of the members of the party. They do not.

Governor Hughes says: "Who make the party nominations? Not the party, but a few active men whose followers have the discipline of an army."

Senator Hinman, one of the party leaders, said: "A voter amounts to about as much as a cipher with the rim dropped off. A few men adopt the platform, the tracks are greased and the thing goes through."

Parliamentary assemblies or caucuses would be necessary for the parties to express the views of the members, but they do not have such caucuses. The members do not attend such caucuses as they do have, and, therefore, they have no voice in the party. Politicians fail to express the sentiments of the members of the party. We may say it is necessary to have leaders, that the members of the party must be led. What do the leaders lead for? Governor Hughes says power is in the hands of "the few who make a business of politics." Now, what are men in "business" for? To be sure, for their health.

Government by parties would be a necessary failure even if all the members of the party were educated, even if they were all honest, even if all the members attended caucuses which were parliamentary assemblies.

It would be only *part* of the people, one party, meeting to consider *one* question. It would be *one* question that would make them a party. They cannot consider more questions for that would split the party. Each principle must have its party.

To have a true democratic government, all the people must be allowed to assemble and express themselves on all questions. Parties will divide the people on principles, but the members of a party may take different sides on questions that arise under a principle. A perfect system of party government would divide up the people into little bands, each contending for one principle or question. Each band would be working for one idea at a time, and it would be practically impossible for any principle to receive the support of all the



people who believed in it, and therefore, impossible to settle even one question at a time.

The necessity of party presupposes the inability of the people to express themselves, and it is proposed to make them still more unable by requiring them to act only through parties.

Forty million Englishmen govern three hundred million Hindus of the Aryan race. How do they do it? By the party system. The immense population of India is governed by native princes, each prince being in control of a certain section. Each section is jealous of the others. While the native princes are jealous of one another they will not unite to oppose the English government, and so as long as England is able to control one prince, she can control them all by keeping them at odds with one another. This is how the few politicians can govern all the people. This is why school teachers, college presidents, ministers and all good people will take their directions from saloon-keepers, convicts and the worst class of the people. The educated men get into parties. The corrupt element control the parties, because there is money in it, and the educated element are led by the ignorant and corrupt element because they vote for principle. As long as the educated people can be divided into *parties* they can be controlled by ignorance combined with cunning, and that is the kind of government we have now.

Only one question can be considered at a time by the parties and only one phase of that question, but there are a great many questions and sides to questions.

The idea of the necessity of parties is based on the delusion that to express our wish for a principle we must choose a man who believes in the same principle that we do. That defect will be overcome if we can choose officers and then vote for such principles as we desire. The views of the officer need make no difference. We can elect a protectionist

and instruct him for free trade. If the people want a canal it is not necessary that their officers believe a canal is necessary. When the people do not know what principles they want, then they can choose men to represent them and decide for them. We may need supervisors or selectmen to formulate principles for us, but we do not need parties to *represent* principles for us. We can express ourselves on principles by ballot. Our ballots can speak for us.

We used to fight for what we wanted and were led by generals. Now we can vote for what we want. We do not have to be led in bands to meet our opponents on the battlefield, now we do not have to be divided into two camps or parties and be led by a "candidate" to give expression to our wishes.

In the early history of England disputes were settled by what was called judicial combat. The members to the dispute entered the lists, and the victorious one was awarded the judgment. First, the contestants themselves entered the lists, then a weak man could hire another man to take his place. Our trial by jury is a refined form of this combat, we have the two parties to the contest—prosecution and defense, trying to win by points of skill instead of physical strength.

Personal combat by bullets or swords has given way to a contest between numbers under parties, and that contest must be superseded by the co-operation of intelligence using the ballot in parliamentary assemblies when the people shall be measured rather than counted.

## CHAPTER IX.

## ORGANIZATION.

*Shall the People Rule?*

During the last Presidential campaign, Candidate Bryan said the paramount issue of the campaign was, "Shall the people rule?" Mr. Sherman, candidate for Vice-President on the Republican ticket said, "The people do rule." The campaign settled neither the questions whether the people shall rule, or whether they do rule.

It is said that the story of the world is a record of the trials and efforts of the people in their struggle for liberty. The pages of our history seem only a tale of the struggles of the people for an answer to the question, Shall the people rule? But we may state they have ruled throughout all the ages.

Truly Cheops did not drive his millions of slaves to their work every morning, the people drove them to their tasks. Yes, the people do rule. It sometimes appears that one man is ruling a mighty nation of men, but that one is merely acting for those who stand behind him, and support him in his cause. Every monarch has the support of a majority of the governing force of his empire, and when he ceases to have this support his crown falls. Under such government the mass of the people are powerful in number, powerful in war when led by a skilled general, invincible when supporting the King, but powerless, helpless and impotent in any effort to direct themselves. They are a force when led, but they cannot organize and lead themselves. They may struggle for freedom, but they struggle less against their leaders, for whom they are willing to die, than they do against their own ignorance, incompetency, and lack of power to act together. The history of the world shows the power of organization.

Government is an organization. Its power is in its organization, and those who are the organizers have the power and are the government. The struggle for liberty is simply a struggle on the part of the people to get into the organization of the government. The people have not struggled against their leaders more than the leaders have struggled for the people. The people have not struggled against their leaders more than they have struggled against themselves. The people unorganized are a helpless mass of humanity, a voice in the wilderness. They are waiting for a leader to come to drive them to freedom.

We may now turn the question, Shall the people rule? into the question, How can the people rule? We say by organization. How shall the people organize themselves? How can they do it? This is the essential question that we are considering. If as Mr. Sherman said, "The people do rule," they do it through their political parties. But we have the testimony of our greatest patriots, our greatest officers, that the people do not rule, and that party government is a farce and a failure.

The rulers have not been placed over the people except as the people have placed them there. The Declaration of Independence says governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed. A despot could not govern a moment without the consent of those governed. We may say the mass of the people have never been held in subjection by a ruler. They have been slaves by their ignorance of their powers and their ability to organize themselves to exercise their power.

The Russians cannot organize themselves; their struggle is less against the Czar than it is against the lack of organization; and the Czar struggles because the government and the people are not properly organized.



The American Colonists organized themselves in town meetings, but the Constitution failed to provide means for the organization of the people under the new government. This was the great mistake. Parties have sprung up to govern the people. What is the result? The people are organized as parties. They should be organized as the people, as the government. The people so organized would be the true child of democratic government.

"Shall the people rule" is simply the question "Shall the people be organized in their own interests, shall they be organized so they *can* rule?" Surely then they *will* rule.

The town caucuses are the best means of organizing the party. So the town meetings of all the people would be the best, the only means of organizing the people to govern themselves. Such an organization is what the framers of the government overlooked.

We have found it necessary. Let us make provisions for it now. Now is the time for all men to come to the funeral of their party. God rules, and the people shall be organized.

If parties are necessary for the people to act in the election, they are just as necessary for the people when making nominations. If it is necessary to have parties for the expression of principles, it is more necessary to have parties of some kind to choose men, for the variety of men is greater than that of principles.

We say the people do not govern themselves. They take their choice between two men picked out by the bosses. You may say the members of the party cannot manage the party. The party acts through its organization. The people are helpless in the grasp of the party organization. The people of Russia *can* be free. Yes, they could be if they could organize themselves, but the government is the organization that now controls them.

You may say the people are organized, that they can act through their party. No, they cannot act. People can act only when acting together. Each individual acting at random is not the people acting, no more than the pile of unorganized atoms are a marble palace. We can be kept isolated. We can be governed by our consent. Keeping the people isolated is the secret of despotic government. The individual life is nothing, a mere atom. It is only when each little part is made into a machine that the parts count.

We tell the members of the party to act together, to secure what they want through their party; and when it comes time to vote at the primary, we tell them to go to the polls, one by one, not talk with one another, each one express his wish, for he is a free man. The politicians meet and perfect their plans. The people must be able to overcome the schemes of the politicians without meeting. The politicians agree by acting together. The people must agree without acting together. The politicians do what is natural. The people are asked to do what is impossible. The people must overcome the laws of nature, and, therefore, they fail. Any government that requires them to do what is impossible is a failure. For voters to go to a caucus, when they cannot express themselves and vote for delegates, is like driving the innocent calf by the slaughter house before he is led to his death, and the more a man thinks of what he does and has done when he goes to the caucus, the more he feels like the innocent calf.

To ask the people to agree without personal consultation, to vote at the caucus without talking over candidates, is to ask them to be mindreaders, to know what other people are thinking about at a distance. As well might we throw a dipper of water into the sea and expect to dip up the same water again. We might as well take the raw materials of which an automobile is made, heap them up in a pile, sit upon

the pile and expect to ride. It is only when the parts of an automobile are assembled that it becomes the horseless carriage and it seems to possess life. It is only when the people are assembled so they can act together, that they possess political life. Acting independently of one another, the people are but screws, bolts, parts of the machine ; assembled, they are the machine in action.

It does not matter how much the people are educated. Fifty college presidents could not agree on any proposition of government without consulting among themselves. They could not elect a presiding officer without consulting among themselves, or taking an informal ballot. They would not try to do it.

Our primary law recognizes the politicians but not the people. It recognizes the politicians and puts the people into their hands. It enables the politicians to act, and then does not permit the people to act, but makes them accept the acts of the politicians. It makes the politicians the government and makes the people obey. That is all they do in Russia.

#### *Government by Caucus.*

As soon as the government was started, it was found that it was necessary to nominate candidates for the people, the government had made no provision for this important work. Those in office were the ones naturally who would be interested and who would take steps to have candidates picked out. They would consult among themselves and pick out themselves and their friends. This getting together on the part of the officers was called holding a caucus. The members of Congress held a caucus to nominate a candidate for President. The members of the State legislature held a caucus to choose a United States Senator. The officers at the National capital held a caucus for National offices. The officers at the State capital held a caucus for State offices, and



so the people interested in the towns held town caucus for town offices. This caucus was the parliamentary assembly of the people interested. When the people were aroused by some public question, the town caucus would be well attended, but usually they were not well attended for many of the people were not interested, there being nothing for them to do.

The substitution of the convention for the caucus extended the authority of the rulers of the party from the little group of officers at the capital to the politicians of the whole country, or rather the participation of the politicians of the country made the convention necessary in place of the caucus. The convention is the caucus of the delegates chosen by the primary caucus.

The people who participate must come together in a caucus to choose delegates, and the caucus is the natural way by which the people must act. Political action is co-operative action, and therefore requires co-operation of the actors, and they can co-operate only by meeting face to face, mind to mind, thought to thought. The parliamentary assembly of the people is government by caucus of the people.

John Adams wrote in 1814:

"They have invented a balance to all balances in their caucus. We have congressional caucuses, state caucuses, county caucuses, city caucuses, district caucuses, town caucuses, parish caucuses, and Sunday caucuses at church doors: and in these aristocratic caucuses elections have been decided."

Caucus, day and night, winter and summer. We get our political education by talking and reading. We form our opinions and learn the opinions of others by talking and reading. The newspapers, speeches and meetings or caucuses are the means by which we know what others think. Man is a talking animal. We invented speech to express our thoughts.



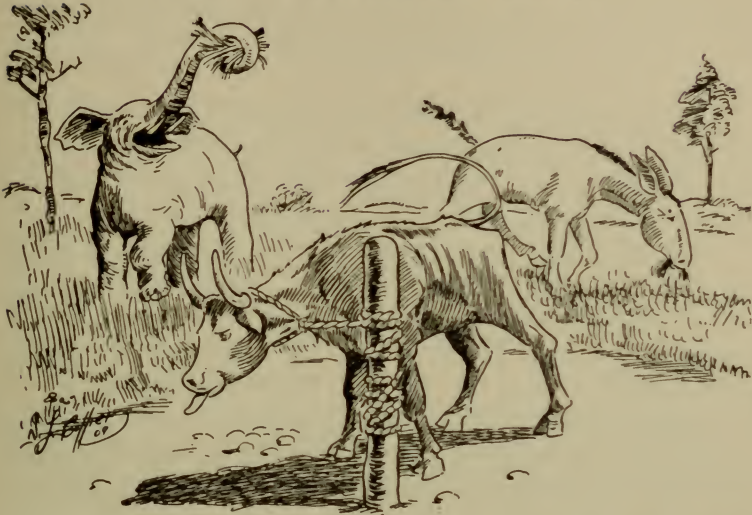
Now we make ourselves dumb, let the politicians talk for us, let them hold their caucuses and tell us what we want. Then we go like monkeys and put our ballots into the box, just as they do.

It is at the caucus that the candidates are decided upon, there platforms are written, there the laws are initiated, there elections decided. The caucus is the field for the activity of the town and neighborhood, the convention is the field for the activity of the county, state and nation. The few can meet face to face, the many can send delegates.

Consultation is the basis of our opinions and desires. Without consultation, we could not agree on any proposition. The people's work must be done in the caucuses, for after that it is delegated work.

The "caucus" buds were set in the epidermis of the tree of state by private enterprise and have borne political parties with all their bitter fruit. When the "parliamentary assembly" buds shall be inserted by the law of the land into the governmental tree, we shall pick the golden fruit of popular rule.

## The Tethered Cow



The People are that Cow, the grass is the reward of industry, the stake is the government, the rope is "organization." The Elephant and the Mule are the politicians of the parties that are eating up our substance, and the flies biting at the cow's back are the pangs of conscience that goad us for our stupidity. The method of winding the rope of party organization around the stake has been the method of the party convention; the last step before the cow is wound tight to the stake, is "direct nominations" under party "committees"—that is the last lash to be applied to her back before the butcher hurls the hammer into the soft spot between her eyes and has her drawn and quartered.

Let the cow retrace her steps, unwind the rope of "party organization," and eat the fruits of the soil to the dismay of the Donkey and Elephant. The Parliamentary Assembly will unwind the rope.

## CHAPTER X.

## NECESSITY OF PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT.

*The Testimony.*

We have the testimony of presidents, governors and other high officers, that parties are necessary to our government, that they are necessary to enable the people to act. I give some quotations from our great public leaders.

President Taft, in speaking of Mr. Cleveland, said:

"Mr. Cleveland was a Democrat. He was a partisan. He believed in parties, as all men *must* who understand the machinery essential to the success and efficiency of popular government."

United States Senator Root said:

"I have no sympathy, and perhaps too little patience with those who think, or think they think, that a republican government can be continued and administered without party organization. Organization will always overcome disorganization."

Prof. Lowell, of Harvard University, said:

"The framers of the Constitution did not foresee the role that party was to play in popular government and they made no provision for it in their plan. National party organizations were a necessary consequence of the virtual election of the President by a popular vote throughout the nation. In some form they must exist in any country for the nomination of officers who are chosen by a large electorate."

Governor Hughes said:

"Now, it is *futile* and *undesirable* to attempt to destroy parties. It is inevitable that parties will continue, and party organization is essential. Those who in attempting to perfect any system which has such a close relation to the public welfare as the method of party nominations, ignore the neces-

sity and continuance of party organization, and like the ostrich bury their heads in the sand."

Mr. Chanler, candidate for governor against Mr. Hughes, said:

"Ours is a government of party, rather than of men."

This is strong testimony and would tend to make me hesitate in my attempt to destroy parties, by argument, if I did not know that the truth is on the side of the people when they truly express themselves, that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

### *The Flat Earth.*

I could give quotations from the great leaders of the people in the thirteenth century showing that the earth was necessarily flat. At that time, anyone would have been presumptuous to say that the earth is round. That it is flat was self-evident, for could not the people see that it is flat? Can't we see that parties are necessary? It is only a fool that thinks we can get along without a party. As Senator Root says, "Nobody thinks so, they think they think so." In the thirteenth century, people were born into a flat world, they lived in a world they could see was flat, and they died out of the flat world. Senator Root and all the other great men are born into parties, they live in parties and do not see how they can live out of parties any more than they can see how a fish can live out of water, and they die out of the parties. That is the only way they can get out.

But the world does move. Although it did seem flat, it was found to be round, and the remarkable thing to us now is that the heads of the people were so flat that they did not find it out long before they did, and when parties are utterly destroyed, we will look back in something more than wonder at the great minds that considered parties necessary. But we get our opinions from the point on which we stand. In a



yellow light, all things look yellow. One born on the plain, has no vision of mountains. The child of the desert never dreams of the sea. A natural born politician without a party, is a man without a country. So in a certain sense parties are necessary. They are necessary for us until we see behind the veil that has been drawn over our faces. We but need to ascend the hill, to see the valley on the other side.

### *The Class Struggle.*

There must be parties for there always have been parties. Likewise with fools. There have always been two classes—those ruling and those ruled—the strong and the weak—the master and the slave—those who have and those who want—those who have the power of government in their hands to use and those over whom such power is used—those whom some say God is pleased to make rulers and those whom He has made to be ruled, the common people. Lincoln said that God must have loved the common people or he would not have made so many of them. There is one class that believes that government is exterior to man, is over man, is to restrain man and to hold him in subjection. There is another class that believes that government is made by man, is under man, is to enable man to be free. One believes that man is to endure government; the other, that he is to enjoy it.

Life is a contest, a struggle in which the strong survive and the weak perish. Government is simply one of the tools or instruments that the strong man uses over his weaker brother. The cold rule of nature has been stated, "Can I kill you or can you kill me?" This is the rule of nature that has come down to men from the brutes. According to Darwin a man is a descendant of the brute creation and he has taken this rule with him.

There is a hope in the hearts of some that at some time there will be in the hearts of all this rule, "Can I help you or must I let you help me?"

The stage of development called savagery says, "Kill the man that stands in the way of what you want." Barbarism says, "Make the man who can help you your slave." Civilization says, "Get the consent of men to govern them, and they will be as helpless as if they were dead and as useful to you as if they were slaves." There has always been some power to make one man obey another. Sometimes it has been "god" and sometimes, "government". The motive for obedience has been fear, fear of "god" through ignorance, fear of "government" through necessity. Yes, the people are afraid. These mysterious "parties" are the divinities that they must not offend. The people know that they are not getting what they deserve, and that the power to get what they deserve and what they want, is in their hands; but through reverence to party their hands are tied. The black cloud of party hangs over them and they fear the storm, but the only possible storm is one that the politicians can brew out of the passion of the people. Let the people refuse to be stormed, let them say the sun of popular rule shall shine, and all the clouds will be dispelled. The political sea may be lashed into fury by the masters of the deep, but the calm of the people's will, will soon quiet the waves and leave a placid surface under the sunny skies. There will be no night, no fear then.

### *The Government Struggle.*

We govern as we fight. The human race has fought with different tools and governed under different systems. We used to decide questions by force, and we governed by force. Later in our development, we decided questions by opinion, and we governed by opinion. When we ruled by force, we ruled with the club and the stone, with the arrow

and the bow, with the sword and the bullet. Each new instrument illustrates a step in our development, a step forward in fighting. As we advanced we used more force, but it was more invisible. Instead of taking a rough stone in our bare hand and crushing it into our enemy's skull, we put the bullet with our gloved hand into the steel tube and with a slight motion of the finger, sent the metal crashing into our enemy's brain. The force is less in evidence, but it is more effective. There is a step in government higher than the bullet, and that is the ballot. We govern first by force, then by cunning which we call consent. The club is seen, the bullets are felt, the ballots are counted. Those who used the club were the rulers, and clubs were necessary. The man behind the gun was the master and guns were necessary, and now we, who have the ballot, shall rule—when parties are destroyed.

Are parties necessary? Can we vote without them? Our voting does no good with them, and if we cannot vote without them, we best not vote at all. Instead of being a means to help us express our opinions, they are a new device in the hands of those who would be our masters to prevent us from expressing our opinions. The club, the bow and the gun were clumsy devices. The political party is the new machine that has come to take their place. Were clubs necessary? Yes, to those who needed to be clubbed. Were bows and arrows necessary? Yes, to those who needed to have their hearts pierced with the flint. Were guns necessary? Yes, to those who were better dead than alive. Are political parties or machines necessary? Yes, to those who cannot govern or do not want to govern themselves. Shall the people rule? Can they rule? Do they want to rule? We shall outgrow political parties as we have outgrown the use of the other tools of savagery and barbarism. The race is progressing from bondage to freedom. With each step in



our progress, we eliminate some useless device, and the latest device to be cast away is the political party.

*"There Will Always be Two Parties."*

Parties are not necessary, organization is what is *necessary*. Parties are the only organizations we have to enable the people to express themselves, therefore they are necessary until some other organization is provided for the people. These organizations have come because we have failed to organize ourselves under the government. The organization of the people in their parliamentary assemblies will leave parties with no foundation.

Parties are national organizations. They are for the purpose of choosing the President. Local elections go with the national election. Parties in states, counties and towns are drawn on national lines. The contest for town collector is determined by the belief of the people on national questions. Because we want our party to choose the President we are willing to vote for all the demons that can be put on our ticket. Party is a spell that is cast over us. We are under its influence, under the influence of those who control the party.

In the fifteenth century there was a thirty-year war in England called "The War of the Roses." It was a contest between two royal families, each claiming to be the true English nobility. The people of England took sides with these pretending rulers and killed one another by the thousand, to establish the rule of one of these despots over them. The members of one of the sides wore white roses, and the members of the other side wore red roses. We may say that we have a war of the elephant and the mule, and there is just as much sense in the people of America dividing themselves into two parties, one under the emblem of the Elephant and the other under the insignia of the Mule, to decide which



party leader should rule them, as there was for the people of England to kill one another to decide whether the wearer of the white rose or red rose should be their King. There would be as much sense in letting a donkey and an elephant go out and fight to decide what policy of government we should adopt as there is in having a contest between these two parties for that purpose.

*What is the Difference?*

Does it make any difference what party is in power? In times past it has made a difference. Our Civil War was certainly the result of party spirit and party prejudice. Sometimes the end justifies the means. That is always the rule with the politicians and their party. If they want something they strive to get it, and whatever means are necessary to get it, they employ. The politicians who upheld slavery thought it necessary to take their states out of the Union to preserve slavery. If that end was desirable, rebellion was the means to the end. They would have rebelled for some other reason. In 1832, the politicians of Massachusetts threatened to secede from the Union on account of the tariff laws. The Civil War, we see then, was but a means to accomplish a desired end, and the means that no one but a party leader would employ. There is no difference in the two great parties now, no difference that an ordinary observer can see. There is a difference between the two old parties and the party that ought to be.

As we look back on the ruins of ancient nations, we may wonder whether they had parties. Were there two parties in Egypt six thousand years ago, if so, what was the difference? There are by nature two parties—one that wants to let the people rule and one that wants to rule the people. We know there were two such parties in old Egypt. The pyramids are the monuments erected by the Egyptian Kings

and show the absolute power of the rulers over the people. The great pyramid, it is estimated, required nine hundred million days' work. Is there any monarch who could tax his people to that extent to build a tomb for him? All the public buildings in the United States did not cost as much as that. Can there be any question but that the rulers of Egypt believed that the people should be ruled, and that parties were "necessary"?

Are parties necessary? What are they necessary for? We have town meetings at which the people discuss their local affairs. Are parties necessary there? If it is proposed to lay out a new road in a town, must there be two parties to decide it? If a new school house is to be built, must it be presented to the people by two parties, and if the tariff is to be revised, must there be two parties to take sides on it? Clearly not.

The American Colonists for many years, governed themselves in their town meetings without parties. They adopted the Declaration of Independence, planned and executed the Revolutionary War without parties, and this was one of the greatest pieces of work ever performed by man. Why were not parties necessary then? Because the people could rule.

American institutions are a growth. They are a growth out of conditions that have long existed. "The roots of the present lie deep in the past." Our town meetings we can trace back two thousand years. The written national constitution had its forerunner in the compact drawn up by the Plymouth fathers in 1620.

Our government is a tree, and it has some new shoots grafted onto it. The most conspicuous branch of the tree now is the political party. That is a branch of comparatively recent growth, but like the other branches, it has been a necessary growth on account of the care given to the tree.

## “Parties are Necessary”



The Donkey: "Shall the People Rule?"

The Elephant: "They Do Rule."

The People: "A Horse, a Horse, the Republic for a Horse."

All (together): "It is Necessary."

The Elephant now goes round, goes round,  
 The band begins to play;  
 The God of Party rules the road,  
 Let all the People pay.

*Parties are necessary. What for?*

To nominate candidates for the people to vote for. Without parties candidates could not be brought out. When the people go to the polls they would have no one to vote for.

What is a party? An organization. A party consists of a number of people scattered through the country having similar opinions or desires. They act as an organization. They have committees and leaders. The members of the party may act directly or the leaders or committees of the party may act.

Mr. Hughes says parties are necessary. The proposed direct nominations law provides for the suggestion of candidates by the committee of the party. Then the voters may approve such choice. Is such a committee or similar body necessary? Yes, as much as a party is necessary. The essential thing about the party is the organization, the power to act, to make or suggest nominations.

The people as units cannot act at all without being organized. They must be formed into groups having common desires. Some authority must pick out a name that a majority of the party or a good number of the party can agree on.

Now, suppose the members of the party do not like the choice the committee makes. What can they do? Ah, then they can act without organization, then party is not necessary, then they act by magic. Then we see the political miracle. Then some one member of the party steps forth with a petition on which is written the name of a man that the members of the party want. He rushes over the state and they sign the petition, and then at the primary they vote for the man of their choice. Is it not wonderful? They must have parties under ordinary circumstances. They must have



a committee or similar organization to suggest a candidate, but if the committee does not suggest a suitable candidate, the candidate that the voters want, then somebody knows whom they want and starts the petition. Why could not this wise man start his petition without waiting for the committee to propose the wrong candidate? The argument for the necessity of parties is strong. And every reason for the necessity of some kind of party organization shows how foolish it is to propose to have the people name candidates by petition. When they can name a candidate by petition then there is no use of parties; if there is any need of parties, then the members of the party cannot name candidates by petition. If the members of the Republican party can agree on a candidate by petition, then the members of any party can do the same, and the people of the state can do the same, and there will be no need of parties, no need even of an election; let the people simply agree on their candidate. No parties and no election will be necessary. This is a great discovery.

The suggestion of the committee will be the end of the matter, and it will be foolish monkey imitation work to have the voters of the party go to the polls to approve the choice or suggestion of the committee. If the members of the party cannot meet in parliamentary assemblies, then they must have some committee or convention to meet for them, and the decision of this body will be their decision. They cannot suggest anybody to take the place of the candidate suggested by the committee or they would not need the committee to suggest at all.

The central and plain fact is that organization is necessary to activity on the part of the people. Without organization they simply cannot act. The organization may be a committee of one man from each county or other district.

These men can get together and deliberate for all the people. A few men from different parts of the state may meet and deliberate for the people and make a suitable choice for public office. Yet, it is not necessary that they know what the people want, for they may not "want" anybody, but this body of men—the committee—must be able to pick out some suitable man. It does not matter so much who he is as long as he will be a suitable officer. If these men who make the choice come from different parts of the state they may be said to represent the people of the state. If we should pick out an intelligent man from each assembly district in the state, and have them meet to pick out a governor, they probably would pick out as good a man as we have ever had for this office, and why should they not be able to do so? The selection of a man for office is not so great a task after all. What does the ordinary citizen know about who will make a good governor? Who knows what the mass of people want? How can anybody know unless the people have a chance to express themselves in parliamentary assemblies? If the voters go to the polls and approve the choice of a committee, that is not expressing themselves at all.

Nomination by petition is the most ridiculous proposition ever submitted to the consideration of the intelligence of the people. They must petition without an organization, but they must petition because an organization is necessary! They must pick out a candidate without having an organization, because the people cannot pick out a candidate without an organization! What nonsense. "If I had some ham I would cook some ham and eggs, if I had some eggs."

The people must agree on a candidate at the primary without an organization because they cannot agree on a candidate at the election without an organization!

Principles are more important than men. There would be no excuse for a party existing merely for the selection of

any man for office. Parties came into being to represent principles, and, of course, they had to have men to stand for the principles. The direct nomination of candidates is of little account to the members of the party. The success of the party is the only thing that is of account. Of course, the people want honest men in office, but we naturally expect to have honest men in office. When we pick out men to represent us, we will pick out good men. If they carry out our principles they will be good men. The Republicans were not much concerned whether their candidate for President was to be Taft or some other man. One hundred men might have been picked out who would have suited them just as well as Taft. If the question had been left to the members of the party and they had no way of comparing opinions, of meeting to exchange opinions, they would not have agreed on a candidate by this time. But Mr. Hughes does not propose to let us have anything to say about "direct" action on candidates for President, nor for local officers, only for state and county officers.

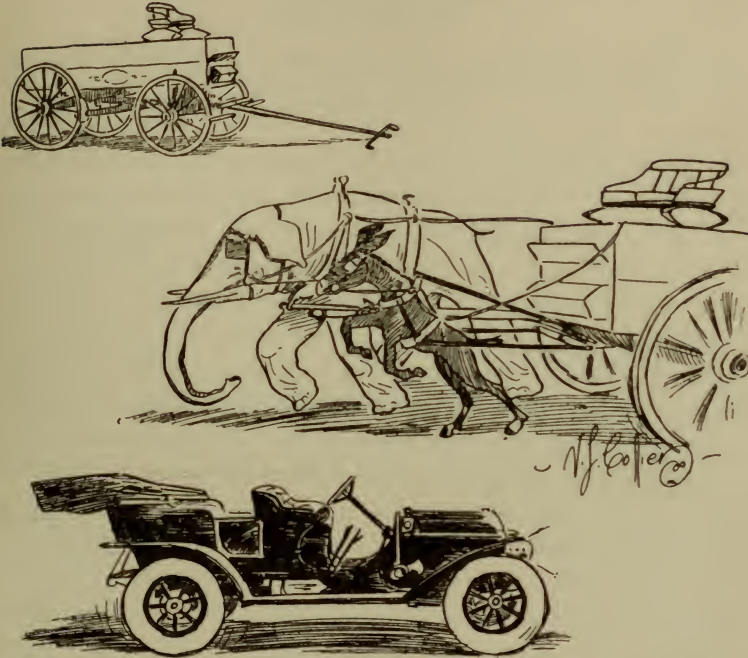
The people should have a chance to express themselves "directly" on principles and let the matter of candidates be decided by committees who can attend to that little detail better than can the mass of the people. It is foolish to have parties to pick out officers. If they are not to represent principles they are useless altogether.

We must have a party to make nominations, but we must make nominations without a party.

We must have a party committee to suggest a name to us, but if this name is not the name we want we must suggest one ourselves. "We" do not know what "we" want, and that is why "we" have a committee to make the suggestion which "we" must accept because "we" cannot tell what "we" want. If we can tell what we want then we don't need the committee, and if we cannot tell what we want then we must go by the action of the committee.



## The Wagon of State



The wagon without the "team" is the government as established.

The people have hitched a stray Elephant and a Mule to the wagon in the hope that they would draw it to the Temple of Salvation; but the Elephant wants to eat all the time and the Mule is balky.

The perfect Automobile is the government as it shall be established by the organization of the people into parliamentary assemblies, into true democratic bodies of self-governing units of government.

The People shall Ride and Rule!



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE REMEDY.

*Election of Principles rather than election of Men to represent principles.*

Carrying out the general theory of party government, let us have election of principles rather than election of men. The men may be chosen by the people or by representatives selected by the people, but principles shall be adopted by the votes of the people, cast directly for the principles. It is not possible for the people to express their choice for men because there are so many men that are available for each office, and it would be impossible for the people to agree in sufficient numbers on any one man. They can only agree on one of two or three men when these two or three men are picked out for them by parties or other agencies. The attention of the people must be focussed to a few men. But it is possible for the people to express their choice of principles, no matter how many principles may be in the public mind for consideration. There will never be a great many principles up for public discussion at the same time, but there would be an indefinite number of candidates if each voter was to pick out his own candidate as he picks out his own principles. If every voter should write out his opinion on all the political questions that he considers, all the opinions of all the people could be classified under a few general headings, and by arithmetical calculation, we could arrive at a definite conclusion as to what the people want on any particular question, but if the voters of any city express their individual choice for mayor, it is probable that no man would receive a decent percentage of the votes, unless a few candidates were brought to the attention of the people and the votes of the people restricted to those candidates.

In the early development of representative government, it was necessary to elect men to represent the people, for the people could not express themselves. The people could not read or write, there were no newspapers, education was limited to the few. The people could not express themselves intelligently. As they became educated and intelligent enough to have opinions, the opinions could not be expressed. How could the principles of the people be ascertained? Only by letting the representatives of the people, who would be acquainted with the people of each community, meet together and discuss what the people wanted. It was a system of passing opinions along from one to the other, hand to hand. How were the representatives to know what the people wanted? By talking with them, by attending their town meetings and taking test votes on public questions. This method is illustrated in the ancient tun meetings of the Anglo-Saxons, by the vestry meetings in early England and by the town meetings in the American Colonies, preceding and during the Revolutionary War. In early times, the representatives took pains to find out what was wanted. When the people did not express themselves, the representatives used their own judgment as to what was best for the people and represented them in that way.

Public education has come to be general. There are newspapers in plenty, we may all know what is being done the world over. We can read and write and take examinations. The public schools of America teach us a wonderful lesson. We find little children going to school, writing their compositions and expressing their opinions on everything under the sun. What these children can do, their parents ought to be able to do. It seems as if the people were about to come out from under a cloud of ignorance, it seems as if they were held back by a rope of straw. The rising sun dispels the mists. The sun of liberty has given us the desire for

self-government and the light of education is giving us the means of self-government.

But how simple is the plan, it is so simple that it is marvelous that it has not been in use for the last one hundred years. A great cry goes up "Shall the people rule, shall the people have what they want"? From the oratory of the political speakers, we think of the people as being crushed down by despots against whom they are forever struggling and the orators are the saviours who are come to lead the people out of their house of bondage. It seems to be a difficult task to find out what the people want and to find men to give them what they want when they know it.

Now, what could be more natural than to let the people say what they want. If we were grown infants incapable of action, then the ado made over us at election time would seem reasonable, but when our children can express themselves in their schools, cannot we express ourselves in our town meetings, our political schools, our political primary assemblies? Let the people choose representatives, but instead of the representatives being obliged to talk with the people or guess what they want, let them listen to the voice of the people as expressed in the town meetings or elections, where they can vote for principles without being obliged to vote for men who they think represent their political principles but who they may think ought to be in jail on general principles.

If the people are not competent to express wise opinions on laws or measures, are they not competent to decide who are the best men to express such opinions? If the voters of any town are not able to understand the tariff, are they not able to decide who are the best men in the town to pick out to help decide it? If they are not intelligent enough to deal with public questions, they are at least intelligent enough to know who of their neighbors are competent. If the people



choose the men in whom they have most confidence to speak for them, are they not doing as much as they can do in the way of self-government? That is the true principle on which representative democracy is based. Are parties at all necessary to enable the people to pick out these men? Are they not rather a hindrance?

If the people are able to form opinions on public questions, they can express such opinions by means of a ballot for principles. It is not necessary to have political organizations to represent the people. If there is to be anything "direct" in elections, it should be the direct expression of the opinion of the people, if they have opinions to express. We may argue as to the ability of the people to make laws for themselves. There is one way to find out, and that is to put the power into their hands, and by their exercise of this power we shall know. If we enable the people to choose their best men and enable the people to express their choice of principles, we have given them the chance to rule, but nothing short of this will satisfy their demands. There is no use of letting democracy perish for want of a thorough trial, and it is not fair to say that democratic government is a failure until it has been given this trial. And this brings us to the question again, Shall the people rule, or shall they have a chance to rule? While the parties live the people cannot rule, and the question whether the people shall rule, becomes the question, "Shall the parties be destroyed"?

### *Organization.*

How does it happen that there are these designing politicians who are able to hold the people in their grasp? How do bosses come to be? How do they organize themselves for their powerful action? The word "organization" is the key to the question. Organization is what makes them. Without such organizations they are as children, and with



such organizations the people are but children at the entrance to the lion's den. How do these organizations come to be? "Caucus" is the key word. Those who are interested in the actual working of the government, those who want office and those who can graft on the tree of State, caucus. They talk over offices, they get together, they prepare plans and execute their plans. Throughout the country those little caucuses are held in saloons and in private offices and in public offices. When there is an officer to be chosen, when there is a public contract to be let, when there is public money to be spent, then there is a caucus on the part of those who have the handling of the money and those who want to get it. Favoritism and interest cement them into an organization. They form a solid mass. All find their proper level. These caucuses are held whenever opportunity makes it desirable. They are natural, they will always be, and to try to remedy the evil by strengthening party organization by law, by making the people work through party organization, is like trying to put out a fire by pouring oil on the flame.

### *The Lever.*

We say put the government into the hands of the people, put it into the hands of all of the people. All hands cannot lift alike. Some will lift a little, some will just touch the load, some will pull backward, but some will be giants. All can lift and we will get the strength of the people back of our movement. Can all lift now? No, the party managers can lift. The trusts have the party lever in their hands and they can lift better than all. Party is the lever; the people, the fulcrum. Industry is the load, and the "Captains of Industry" apply the force. See how easy the trusts lift the load. Yes, see the backs of the people on which the load is carried. The lever is necessary if the trusts are to lift the bag of the fruits of industry. If the lever is thrown away,

then the trusts will have to lift with their hands along with the people. Shall the people rule with their own hands, or shall their backs be the support of the party lever by which the trusts hold up the rewards of labor?

### *Initiative.*

The initiative is a system of voting by ballot at elections adopted by Switzerland and a few of the American States, in which the people have the privilege of indicating what laws they want enacted. That is they can initiate or start laws. How do they do it? How can a question be brought to the attention of the voters so that the mass of them can consider the same question at the same time? The political party is the only instrument yet devised to give expression to the will of the people, and it is the only means of getting the people to act together. A party may propose a question and the people may vote "Yes" or "No" on it. On what proposition shall the people express themselves? On the proposition that some party sees fit to present to them. Suppose the Democratic party proposes the question of free coinage, the people can vote simply "Yes" or "No". They cannot in any way modify the question. If the party must first propose a question, the people simply have the chance of voting "Yes" or "No", but to truly initiate a proposition, the people must have more than a chance to merely vote "Yes" or "No", they must have a chance to frame up the question or proposition to suit themselves. The present condition of the initiative simply gives the people a choice of what somebody else has picked out for them. It does not give them a chance to make their choice first hand. The opinions of the people of any district can be collected and expressed only by their actually meeting face to face, by getting and giving views. In such a way the common opinion of the people can be arrived at.

The sportsman must have something to shoot at. The voters under parties must have some principle brought up for discussion or they will not have anything to act on. They go to the polls one by one and express themselves on some question that somebody else has written. To truly express himself each voter would have to go into the booth and write out a composition on the questions of the day or the questions he had considered. Such statements would be of no value for it would be impossible to arrange or tabulate the scattered and poorly expressed opinions of the voters, but if they could actually meet and decide to discuss certain questions, they could decide on the questions and express their opinion at the same time, and the vote of the meeting would be an accurate record of what the people want.

### *The Feast.*

There are two views of the organization of the government. When the government was founded, there were two points of view. There were what was called State men and National party men. These two views were the foundation of the two great political parties. That question was of no particular importance. If the people had been empowered with government that question would have been lost sight of, but the parties kept up the discussion. The slavery question came up, the same theory of State rights led to secession. The theory of the right of a State to secede and the desire to secede to save slavery, caused the war. The parties are responsible for keeping this issue alive. Parties divided the country into sections instead of uniting it. Under the organization of the people into parliamentary assemblies, the people would have grown into one mass.

The government in Washington's time was not perfected. We should take the place that the people should have taken at that time. They did not see the necessity for the organiza-



tion of the people, for it did not exist. As the necessity grew, organization took the place that the people should have taken.

We do not govern, we are governed by our consent. We are governed by a governing class, who are despotic because we are deceived into believing that we govern. We have progressed much in general, but not in government. We are just where we were in 1770. We have a new despot, instead of the King of England, we have the "Amen Corner", the Boss. We were governed then and we did not like it. We are governed now and we do like it. The yoke is easy when we put it on ourselves, a self-imposed burden is light.

The Declaration says we are created to govern ourselves. Our stomachs were created to digest food. When we don't get anything to eat, we get hungry. When we don't govern ourselves, we get political parties. The political party is to the Nation what hunger is to the individual. Yes, the political party is the hunger of the State. The State is an organism, it has a constitutional stomach, and its stomach has been empty, it is hungry. Our eyes have been feasted on the flag, our ears have been charmed with eloquence. Parades and promises we have had in plenty, but we have not been filled, we have been fooled. The eye has seen, but the hand has not touched nor the mouth tasted. The grapes grow high on the vines. The peaches are lemons. The honey is vinegar and sugar is gall. The bread of life is the ashes of disappointment. There is the "Emptiness of Ages" in our digestive system. The great Civil War was a colic, a stomach ache. Let us eat. Let the people gather around the table of the Parliamentary Assembly, let them have their feast of reason and flow of soul. Let them eat the bread of opportunity and drink the wine of participation. Yes, let them drink all of it. Let us spread the feast under our sacred trees, let us have a meeting of the towns, let the clans assem-



ble. Let Lazarus come to the feast, and let the rich man take his turn at the crumbs. Let us sit at the head of the table. The Party Calf has grown so great that he must either devour or be devoured. The fire burns hot with the deceptions that have been heaped upon us. Let him be led forth to the slaughter.

*Self Preservation.*

The first law of nature is self preservation. Every living thing seeks to preserve itself, and unconsciously it will give its life in its effort to save itself. The same law applies to societies, of which government is one. The people as a government are merely a society, a living organization. The people in the government act through officers, who exercise their powers during certain periods of time. So the organization must be renewed from time to time. It must be perpetuated by the people. The government should prepare for that renewal of life. Its organization should provide a law by which the people can give it new life and keep it in force. The Constitution and laws made no provision for the people granting their powers to officers. Political parties have supplied this necessity. They have grown up as the mediator between the people and their government. The power of the people must pass from their own hands to the hands of the officers, and is passed by means of political parties. The election laws provide for this. Even last year the President proposed to Congress that the government pay the expense of running the parties. Politicians get into office and then pay their expenses out of the treasury. Let the people as the government prove that the people can perpetuate the government without parties. The way to do this is through Direct Primary Assemblies, held without regard to parties, to which all the citizens of a community will be eligible.

*Local Self-government.*

The demand is often made in party platforms for local self-government. It is a popular demand. People do not like to feel that they are denied the right to govern themselves in their local affairs.

Why is this? The Anglo-Saxon race has been used to self-government for hundreds of years. Local self-government has been characteristic of English and American towns since the beginning of their history, and there will probably never be a time when the people will not manage their own local concerns.

But the right to local self-government is no clearer than the right to national self-government. If the people have the right to govern themselves in town matters, is it not right that they should govern themselves in national matters?

In the New England town meetings and also in New York State, the people decide a great many things, such as the laying out of new roads, building of bridges, draining lands, how much money shall be voted for public improvements, whether intoxicating liquors shall be sold or not. In the school district in New York State, the people have their school meetings to decide on who the officers shall be, how much money shall be raised, the length of the term of school, and in fact all the details of the school.

The value of self-government, or of letting the people themselves pass upon the laws, is frequently shown where questions are submitted to the people for their approval at general elections. For some time past the Board of Education of Rochester has been considering the proposition to furnish text books free to the pupils of the public schools. There was a committee of nine appointed by citizens of the city to investigate and report on this proposition. They held some public meetings and many private meetings, and after all the discussion they have come to the conclusion that they

do not know whether to advise free text books or not, and in a resolution have asked that the question be submitted to the voters of the city at the next election. This shows that they have confidence in the people, that the judgment of the mass of the people is better to be relied upon than the judgment of a committee of nine. So far as the people possess the necessary information and experience is it not always better to rely on their judgment and wish rather than on the judgment of a few who are chosen to speak in their place? If this is to be a government of the people and for the people, it must be indeed by the people, not merely by their representatives, and not by the parties to which they belong, but by the people acting of themselves and for themselves, in free parliamentary assemblies, where they can meet face to face, ask their questions and have them answered. Actual discussion of public questions is the only way that the minds of the people can be trained to understand their questions and the only means by which the wishes of the people can be ascertained.

In-so-far as the people are able to decide what is for their advantage, let them do so, and where they are not able to so decide, let them pick out representatives to choose for them.

*Party is a Private Affair.*

Party organization is something outside of the machinery of government proper. In the organization of the government the people took no notice of party organizations or movements nor even contemplated them. They have sprung up from selfish purposes to take advantage of conditions arising under the people's necessity in managing the government. The laws left no way for the people to have their wishes expressed, and parties have come to help the people manage the government. The parties have helped too well, they manage it entirely—and manage it for themselves alone.

Parties are private affairs for private interests. "Public office is a public trust." Now, what business has a party with public office? Instead of making the people get into parties to choose officers and making them choose their officers out of parties, we should make it impossible for the parties to get possession of office. A man who is in a party should be looked upon as a man who wants to commit robbery, and is a criminal in embryo.

Parties are private affairs for private interests, but the government is a public affair with public interests, and it is the business of the government to provide for the organization of the people into parliamentary assemblies so that they can express themselves and not leave them to organize themselves into party bands to secure what they want under the laws of piracy. Party government is a government within the government, a wheel within a wheel. But the true government is responsible to the people and regulated by the Constitution. Party organization is responsible only to the boss, to the organizer, to the interests that gave the party birth. It arrays one class against another class. Parties are necessarily classes. Class interests organize parties, parties secure control of the government, and then the government is run in the interests of the members of the party. The party is a foundling. It was left at the entrance of the temple of government. It was taken in and fed on patronage and "infant industries," and on this diet it has grown to be a Samson ready to tear down the very pillars of the temple.

Some say the Republican party came to settle the question of Negro slavery. That was settled. But after the settlement of that question, what did the party remain for? It has been kept in power to feed the organization of politicians that have gathered into its fold *to be fed*.

The Constitution is the fence around the orchard of government privileges, opportunities, benefits and favors. All the



good things the people want are in the orchard, and when they want anything they must organize a party band to break through the fence. The man who wants, but can find no den of robbers to join him, must sit by and see the others satisfy their wants.

The kernel has been left out of the shell of government, and party is the fungus that has grown in its place. Organization is the meat, the kernel that should have filled the shell of the Constitution. The American Eagle laid an egg with an empty shell, called the Constitution, and a serpent deposited his slimy brood, Party, within the void, and out of this have grown the copper-head of the rebellion, the blood-sucker of the tariff, and the hydra-headed octopus of the trusts. There is quite a vigorous brood to bruise our heels, unless we stamp them out at once. Parties must be destroyed.

*Outside the Gate.*

Officers are to be elected. The people are to vote for them. The laws prescribe the method by which the people vote. Laws recognize parties as placing candidates in nomination, recognize the party as making the nominations. The people must be in parties to be considered. They must get into parties before they can be heard by the State. The State puts a premium upon parties. It goes into partnership with parties to govern the people. Parties take the place of royalty. The king is dead. Long live the party!

Pass a direct nomination law to the effect that the people must be in parties to get consideration at the hands of the State, so that government of the party, by the party, and for the party may not perish from the earth!

We ask that people have as much right as the parties. Give the people the same chance we give the party. Let the people have a parliamentary primary assembly in every town, pay their expenses, the same as we pay party expenses.

Let them nominate their candidates and also express their principles, and let those candidates be put on the official ballot. Let the people rule at least as much as the parties.

There would have to be actual meetings of the people, for there would be no committees to pick out candidates for delegates. This beginning in our political activity is the all important thing. Let me pick out the candidates for delegates and I do not care who does the voting. If the parties are to represent the members of the parties, there must be parliamentary meetings of the members of the party and not mere primaries. When we vote by ballot it is necessary to have face to face discussions.

Are not the people that do not belong to a party entitled to have a voice in their government? You must belong to the party to have a voice in your government. To be outside of some party is to be lost, to lose your right to vote. Get onto the Republican Elephant or the Democratic Mule if you want to ride into the city.

The people must rule or be ruled. They can rule through direct parliamentary assemblies. They can be ruled through party committees, official ballots, direct nominations, etc.

### *Wheels.*

There are two wheels to the political machine, one is the caucus, the other the convention. The caucus is the main wheel, it is to that the force is applied and transmitted by it to the other. There are two caucuses, one real and the other artificial, one for business the other for show; one regulated by the politicians, the other by the State; one for the participation of the politicians, the other for the deception of the people; one for the grafters, one for reformers.

The real caucus is the caucus of the politicians, not the caucus provided for by the State law. It is the caucus that gives force to the caucus provided by the State law. The

primary or State caucus is deficient. It is the fire-box without the coal, and the politicians gladly supply the need. After the secret private caucus of the politicians, the primary is held under the law, and there the designs of the secret meetings are publicly approved and passed off as the voice of the members of the party. The worm that has spun its own thread around it under the protection of the primary will come forth as the beautiful butterfly to dazzle the eyes of the people. The worms of the secret caucus become the flies of the official primary, who in turn become the nominating committee, and again turn into the worms from which they came. As soon as the committeemen are chosen they possess authority, they are a law to themselves. It is the force that chooses these men, that starts the wheel to moving and keeps up the motion of the machine. Under the newest plan proposed, the committeemen would be chosen by petition. It would simply be a worm's nest rebuilt by the worms. Out of the foulness of political corruption can we expect the clean bird of popular petition to arise? Out of the mouths of babes we may get wisdom, but out of corrupt politics we shall not get pure government. The parties are well organized, their wheels fit to perfection. There are no broken cogs. From the secret caucus to the national convention, one cog fits into the other with the nicety of watch-work. The voice that is expressed by the national convention, is the voice that speaks at the secret caucuses. The President's cabinet meeting makes the decision, and the national convention registers it. The Peerless Leader on his Nebraska farm makes up his mind and the Denver convention proclaims it to the people. There are a great many messengers, and a good deal of public display necessary between the inception of the thought and its unfolding to the people, but it is all worked out by these two wheels, the caucus and the convention. It is the caucus that makes the convention. Those who are to be in

the convention are born at the caucus. The family of the politicians becomes the Royal Family of the State, and it is about as hard for a new politician to enter the ring without being baptized into the mysteries of the clan, as it is for one of the common people to enter royalty.

Let us organize the people in the same manner that the parties are organized. Some organization is necessary, all our great statesmen say so. The people should have a more perfect organization than the parties. They must have a caucus and a convention, but their caucus instead of being secret and attended by the few, should be public and attended by all. It should express the views of the people, not the voice of a few designers. It should be the nest of the American Eagle, not the nest of the Harpies. This caucus of the people must be actual, it must be a parliamentary assembly where the people meet. From this assembly would go out the true representatives of the people chosen for their ability, chosen to express the will of the people. Such an organization of caucus and convention would make an ideal party organization, and it will make an ideal organization for the people. And this is not at all new. It is new to our politics, but it was the plan used by the Ancient Saxons. Their meeting places were under their sacred tree. Let ours be in our school houses. They made the tree the temple of their government. Let us make our little halls of learning the foundation stones of the Republic. The politicians have made their secret caucus the main wheel that operates the Constitution. Let us make popular assemblies the wheel that drives the power organized under the Constitution.

The history of the world is said to be a history of the world's great men. Now, we think of these men because they were connected with certain events or because their personality produced certain events. It is the personality of the man that rules, the personality of the people must rule. They



rule not by numbers but by weight; not by quantity, but by quality; not how many, but how much. In the private caucus of the politicians, it is the man of native force that has his way, that plans the party campaign, that secures the results and uses them. In the parliamentary assemblies we would get an expression of the personalities of the people, the wise man would be wise, and the foolish would be silent. These men would appear in their true nature as giants and dwarfs, all would not be equal, they would be as they are. Their strength would be applied to the first and most important wheel in the machinery of government. It may be that we have Washingtons, Jeffersons and Lincolns in our midst. We have had them and why not again? It is only the emergency that calls out the ambulance, only the opportunity that calls out the statesmen and the general. If there is an opportunity there will be found many men who have good ideas and good ability to use for the people. At these meetings of the people these abilities will have a chance to develop, the opportunity will be there, and if we have statesmen they will be employed in statesmanlike work. Their abilities will be used to formulate plans for the improvement of the people.

*Danger in Delay.*

Government by parties is a farce. We vote knowing it does not matter which side wins. We do not care. We say, What is the use? We know government by parties is a farce, and we are waiting for something better to come along. As long as we think parties are farces and are some time to be gotten rid of as some disease, we are not in so great danger, we are governed by them through our consent but not through necessity. But when we take it seriously and say these parties are necessary, then it is time to take notice, then we do become slaves and are governed by necessity with no hope of escape. What we take as a wart on our backs, Gov-

ernor Hughes would make a necessary growth and deform us like the camel with its hump.

By the prince of organizations we shall cast our organizations. Let us have an organization of all the people to take the place of the organizations of part of the people under the pirate flags or politicians.

If we have a tumor and think it is an evil to be gotten rid of some time, we are safe if we do not wait too long. If we think the tumor is necessary, then we are lost; but if we think the tumor is not necessary and can be removed by the surgeon's knife, we are saved at once. We should not tolerate our party evils, we should not say they are necessary, but we should have them removed by the keen edged knife of the parliamentary assembly.

When the pretending heir usurps the power of the state the people are in danger.

When the spirit of subserviency comes among us we are slaves.

When we have a leader whom we let govern us, and we know he governs only because we are pleased to let him, we have the power in our own hands; but when we have a leader who we think is necessary to govern us, then we have no voice, then we have the King.

Establishing the NECESSITY of the exercise of power is the establishment of royalty. Kings began to rule because the people wanted them to rule. The people asked for a king. When kings began to rule because the people thought it was necessary to have kings, when the people began to think kings ruled by divine right, arrangement and decree, then they had despots. If we let trespassers cross our fields, knowing they damage our crops, we are conscious of suffering injury with our permission; but when we think it is necessary to let these trespassers cross our lots, we no longer own our homes.

Government by consent rather than government by necessity is the key note of the great declaration. "We the people, say" shall be the enacting clause of our laws, rather than, "The parties, which are necessary, say."

Why do we have kings? Because the people feel that it is necessary to have kings. The despot cries: "Lead me Necessity mid the encircling gloom, when Democrats assail my path, lead thou me on."

*People as Figures and Numbers.*

At the little red school house we learn that all numbers can be expressed by ten characters by putting them in different combinations or positions. Each figure has a value of its own called its significant value. It also has what is called a representative value, which is determined by its position. All 1's are equal, but when a cipher is placed after a 1 it becomes 10. A 5 is always a 5 of itself, but when a cipher is after it, it is 50. It has its own value and also a value given to it by its position. So it is with people, some are 1's, some are 2's, and some are just ciphers. In the parliamentary assembly the people are 1's or ciphers; those who can think are 1's, with a definite significant value, but those who do not think are ciphers. They may vote and they give an added value to those for whom they vote. They may make a one into a ten or a hundred.

The people at their little assemblies we can represent by significant figures, but when it comes to the larger districts, there are not enough significant figures to express the people, and then we have to give the figures a representative value. The figures in the higher numbers represent the same people that we find in the little assemblies, but instead of standing for themselves they stand for the town, instead of being ones they are hundreds or thousands. Instead of being figures, they are numbers; instead of being individuals, they are districts. Back of them are the people who have sent

them. It is no longer Bill Jones who speaks, but the people of Lima. The higher assemblies or conventions of the people give the significant figures a different and higher representative value, until we have hundreds, thousands and millions; and in the various assemblies of the people they can express their wishes exactly, even to fractions and decimals. A man who is half Republican, because he wants protection, and half Prohibitionist because he wants temperance, can be a whole protectionist and a whole temperance man, a socialist and a free silver man at the same time. Instead of throwing away our votes by voting for men in third parties who represent new principles, we can save our votes and have them counted for whatever principles or questions we desire.

*A Model Election in New York State.*

The State is divided up into election districts of convenient size. In the country districts one hundred voters are allowed for one district, in villages and cities about two hundred fifty voters from a district. Such divisions may be made by the board of supervisors or the city aldermen.

In a city like Rochester, there would be about one hundred seventy-five election districts. Where would such elections be held? There are forty public school buildings that could be used for such purposes, there are over forty public halls, and there are ninety churches that may be so used, besides several rooms in the court house and city hall.

The schools and churches would be ideal places for such meetings. In the country districts there are enough school houses and churches to provide for all such meetings. The State could build or rent enough halls so that the churches need not be used for such purposes, but there does not seem to be any good reason why the churches would not be the most suitable place for such assemblies. Surely if the voice of the people is the voice of God, this voice should be heard in the churches.



Such meetings at such places would bring out our best citizens, who now stay away from political gatherings from sheer disgust, while the drunkards, the criminals, the floaters and repeaters would be out of place there and would be noted by their absence. Read again the report of the Chicago Grand Jury and think if it would not be a wonderful improvement if the meetings were held in churches. In Colonial times the people often held their town meetings in churches and school houses, and the work they did there was noted for its quality. These meetings formed the American Republic, and the stones of which the temple was built are its surest foundation.

On election day the assembly is held throughout the State. It is a holiday and one of the most interesting we have. The people turn out as if there were a show of remarkable attractiveness. What can be more interesting than the opportunity of the people to meet and tell what they want in this great government of ours? They never had the chance before. When assembly day comes around they will all be there.

The meeting is called to order by an inspector of election, who is chairman of the meeting and who is elected by each meeting for the next year. There is an order of business as a guide for the meeting. Committees are appointed, nominations are made, informal ballots are taken, and as a result of the day's deliberations the people have chosen the officers of the meeting, chosen representatives to the town, city, county and assembly district assemblies. They have instructed these representatives whom they desire for the various officers that are to be chosen by these delegates, they have done this by means of motions or by informal ballots. They have expressed themselves on the various questions that have been discussed at the meeting or that have been proposed at former meetings and now brought up for con-

sideration. They have met face to face, they have discussed and considered questions intelligently among themselves, they have expressed their wish and opinions in regard to affairs of the local, state or national government. Having rendered their decisions as free citizens they go to their homes, and not a word has been heard about political parties, they are all dead.

Each assembly chooses a representative who has one vote for each one hundred people voting at the meeting at which he was chosen. The representatives of a town meet as a representative town assembly. It is in a public hall or church and is open to the people. Its proceedings are public, the hall is full of spectators. The meeting is called to order, and town officers are chosen according to the instructions given the representatives by the people who chose them.

A county representative assembly is now held, the delegates or representatives from the election districts of the various towns are there, it is a public meeting and there are many interested observers. The representatives choose county officers in accordance with the instructions given them by their people. If no such instructions are given, the delegates take an informal ballot to express their own wishes and judgment on candidates. From this ballot the members know who are considered possible candidates, and from those mentioned the county officers are chosen. If they do not choose good men, then American judgment, American patriotism and common sense are grievously at fault. The intellectual flower of the county is here assembled and feel themselves the representatives of the people of the county, and their acts are open to the approbation and criticism of the people. Shall we not be able to say of them as the great English Statesman, Pitt, said of the American Colonists when their representatives assembled in meetings to protest against government over them in which they had no part:

"They chose delegates, by their free suffrages; no bribery, no corruption, no influence there, my lords. Their representatives meet, with the sentiments and temper, and speak the sense of the continent. For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language, for everything respectable, and honorable, the Congress of Philadelphia shine unrivalled."

The representatives in county assembly also choose representatives for a State assembly, and tabulate the votes that have been cast at the different primary election districts. Thus the representatives from each county go to the State assembly with direct instructions as to whom the people of the different districts want for certain officers, but most important of all, these representatives know the wishes of the people in regard to public questions and principles of government. The people have expressed themselves on free text books, on public roads, on state canals, on the income tax, etc., etc.

The representatives from the counties to the State Parliamentary Assembly of the people meet at the State capital and express the voice of the people as they have heard it come up from the assemblies of the people. They have before them a record of the wishes of the people both as to officers desired and choice of principles and policies of government. They know what the people want. They canvass and tabulate the votes of the people and report the result, which becomes a valuable guide to the State legislators. If the people want race track gambling stopped they can easily express themselves on that point, and the Governor will not have to proclaim to the world that our Constitution is in the gutter. The State Assembly will also choose State officers who are now appointed by the political bosses.

Think whether officers appointed by delegates or committeemen chosen in back rooms of saloons or in private offices, by bribe givers and bribe takers, by men who make a business of politics and are working for their own pockets all the time, can be compared with those who will be chosen by representatives of the people picked out at free parliamentary assemblies of all the people in their schools and churches. The contrast will be like the darkness of midnight compared with light of the noonday sun in a cloudless sky. No longer will Diogenes seek the honest man in vain, no longer will an honest man in public life cause us to think of him in wonder, but the man who is found faithless to his trust will be the one whom we shall look upon as the exception to the rule. Yes, humanity is honest at the core, it is only when it breathes the foul gases of corruption that ex-hale from the sewer of graft that it becomes pitted with the pox of misrepresentation.

The delegates or representatives who make up the congressional district assembly of the people will choose a member of congress, who will know what the people want, for they will have expressed themselves by ballot on the various questions that have been considered. The delegates will also choose a presidential elector, who will also know whom the people of his district prefer for President, if they have any choice, for they will have expressed themselves by means of an informal ballot. Everywhere we see the public officers are chosen in broad daylight by the people or the direct and directed representatives of the people. Everywhere we see the representatives of the people enlightened by the voice of the people expressed by a free ballot and an exact count.

At the proper time these presidential electors of the State meet at the State capital and consider the choice of a President and a Vice-President. Here we shall have thirty-nine representatives of the people chosen for this special purpose, by delegates whom the people have chosen from among their midst, chosen without a suggestion of bribery, and not only chosen for a special work, but instructed as far as the people are able, as to how the work is to be done.



## CHAPTER XII.

## THE PLATFORM

We the people express the following facts and principles as a true guide to our political action :

That according to the laws of nature, all races and nationalities, are equal in their right to govern themselves.

That the highest civilization results from the people associating in equality.

That our government is founded on the principle that self-government is a natural right, that the people have the ability to exercise that right, and that this is to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

That the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, are the supreme law of the land, and express true political principles.

That the Constitution is but the framework of the government, it is but the wagon in which the people may ride, and that some means must be provided by which the wagon shall be run, that the people may ride.

That the American people have the necessary intelligence to govern themselves, to operate the wagon in which they ride, and that the people shall rule.

That the framers of the Constitution gave the people the right to act, but failed to provide any means by which they could act or express their wishes in regard to the operation of the government.

That in giving the people the right to choose officers they did not give them the opportunity to choose officers.

That the people have the power to act, the right to act, but not the ability to act, because there has been no law passed prescribing the method by which they can act.

That organization is necessary for any body of people to act.

That the Constitution was adopted by a parliamentary body.

That the delegates to the Convention which adopted the Constitution were chosen at Parliamentary Assemblies of the people.

That the Constitution even declared that the President was to be elected by a Parliamentary Assembly of the Electors of the people, but,

That the framers of the Constitution and laws have failed to provide any means for organizing the people into Parliamentary Assemblies or societies by which they can act.

That government by the people requires that they be organized into Parliamentary Assemblies in which they can express their choice of officers and choice of principles of government.

That the people have been acknowledged as having the natural right and power to express their wishes, but

That they have not been entrusted with the exercising of that right and power.

That the Parliamentary Assembly of the people is the one thing lacking in our government to make it a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

That the people shall rule by the establishment of themselves as Constituent Parliamentary Assemblies, each Assembly being a unit of the State and of the United States.

That on account of the failure of the people in the beginning to make any provision for organizing themselves to exercise the power belonging to them, political parties have sprung up and have organized the people under the rule of political bosses, who govern in place of the people.

That instead of having assemblies of the people, we have assemblies of politicians.

That the people now act through political parties, and that is the only way they can act, for no way has been provided for their action, and the necessity for somebody acting in the government has formed parties to act for the people.

That political parties are run by parliamentary assemblies of politicians, at which the people have no voice.

That instead of these self-constituted organizations of self-seeking politicians, we should provide for the organization of all the people into assemblies where they can express themselves both as to choice of men and choice of principles of government.

We declare with Senator Root that "Organization will *always* overcome disorganization."

We also declare that *organizations* of politicians have overcome the people *unorganized*.

That under party rule the government is run over the people *disorganized*, and that the people are exploited, plundered and made subservient to the politicians.

We declare with Governor Hughes that "The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with a party machine."

We declare that parties create class government which is dangerous to the safety of all government.

That the people have suffered under party government and that they are now enduring evils that ought not to be.

That government by parties is a necessity as the laws now are.

That Governor Hughes and others propose to make government by parties more necessary than it now is.

That government by parties *is* a failure, *has been* a failure, and of necessity *must be* a failure.

That government of the people, by the people, and for the people can be secured only by organizing the people into Parliamentary Assemblies in which they can express themselves.

That the historical growth of democracy has shown this to be its true method of development, that the town meetings of the Anglo-Saxons, the Magna Charta of England, the town meetings of the American Colonies, the parliamentary meetings of the people to declare their Independence and to establish their Constitution, all show that the only means by which the people can act is through such Parliamentary Assemblies.

That the people have the right to assemble to govern themselves, that the laws have failed to give the people that opportunity, and we demand that such opportunity now be given to all the people.

We demand that election laws be passed which will organize the people into Parliamentary Assemblies in election districts of convenient size.

That these assemblies be open to all the legal voters of the district in which they are held, that they be organized as are proper legislative assemblies, that the people may propose and discuss questions of government and candidates for public office, that after such discussion there shall be a vote by ballot to ascertain the wishes of the voters in regard to principles, and that there shall be an informal ballot for officers to be chosen, and that then other ballots shall be taken until the will of the people assembled is properly ascertained.

That each election district shall choose as many delegates or committeemen or supervisors or selectmen or representatives as each may be entitled to according to population, and that these men so chosen shall be officers of that district, that these representatives of any town meet to choose other officers for that town, that these representatives of a city, county, assembly or other such district, meet as a parliamentary body and choose officers for their respective districts, that the representatives of each assembly district choose representatives who shall be State officers or representatives



and who shall choose officers for the State, that delegates or representatives be chosen at the State assembly district meetings to be officers for the purpose of choosing a Presidential Elector in each Congressional district, and that the State representatives choose two Electors-at-large for the State.

We demand that the expression of choice of men and choice of measures given by the people at such assemblies shall be followed by their representatives in all their meetings, and that if the people express a desire for a certain law, that provision shall be immediately enacted into law by the proper legislative authorities.

We demand that every voter have his constitutional right to vote, to express himself in favor of any man for any office, and that he have the greater right and privilege of expressing himself for or against any proposed law or measure, and that he may by vote propose any law or measure.

We demand that every voter have a chance to express his wishes as clearly and definitely as do the members of any parliamentary assembly in the world.

We do not propose protection or free trade, neither free silver nor the gold standard, neither socialism nor prohibition. We declare all such questions as of minor importance to the great question, Shall the people rule? Shall the people be allowed to express themselves not on one question but on all questions? Shall they be enabled to express their choice not between two candidates picked out by politicians, but to choose from all men?

We denounce the proposition of Governor Hughes and others to impose upon the people party rule, as statutory boss rule, and to fasten onto the people the shackles of government by politicians.

We denounce the proposition that the State go into partnership with parties as monstrous, and as tending to establish over us an authority outside of ourselves, an authority com-

plete in itself, that will reduce us to subjection and turn the Republic into an oligarchy or a despotism.

We denounce those who declare that parties are necessary as enemies to the people. The acts of tyrants are excused by "necessity." Parties are necessary only when the people cannot rule, and to legally declare that parties are necessary and to change our election laws so as to make parties necessary, is to disfranchise the people, and violate the Constitution.

We denounce the so-called direct primary election law as one of the devices with which hell is paved, a good intention but with a most disastrous end—the establishment of a political oligarchy over the people and a luring of the people to rest under the false idea that when they are approving directed nominations they are having direct nominations.

Some excuse a government by party on the ground that it is necessary, some excuse trusts for the same reason, and some excuse child labor and the sweat shop on the ground that the capitalist must have his profit. All such statesmen we declare false prophets and we say to them: "You shall not feed our children to this God of party hunger, you shall not make necessity the tombstone over their graves."

Parties must be destroyed, and the defenders of party rule and advocates of party government shall be put to shame when they shall meet their free brothers face to face in the Constituent Parliamentary Assemblies where the people shall rule.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

*Plan for Choosing President.*

The question of how the President should be elected it is said took one-seventh of all the time that was used in framing the Constitution. There were several plans proposed.

Under the Confederation the President of Congress was elected by the Congress, and some proposed to have Congress choose the new President. Congress represents the people and the States, and it would seem that such a body of representative men would be well able to make a good choice, and no doubt they would. But it was also pointed out that it would give Congress too much power, that the President would be obligated to the members of Congress, that he would be one of their own number, and that, therefore, Congress would have absolute control of the government. The main question was how to choose a President and yet not have him under obligations to the officers or body that chose him. He should represent the whole people and therefore it would not be well to have him responsible to Congress or any such body.

At that time there was no thought of the people expressing themselves in favor of certain principles of government by having certain men representing those principles, elected to office. They considered that the President was merely to execute the laws passed by Congress, and they did not think that it would be necessary to elect a President having certain "beliefs", in order that the people might get certain desired laws passed by Congress. They considered the President as a law executor, not as a law giver. They did not think of the President as the leader of a great political party whose principles were to be made a part of the laws through the

influence of the President. They did not think of the President as a dictator in the White House holding the Big Stick over the Congress and enforcing his personal will by running his party machine over all who stood in the path of his progress. They did not expect the President to lasso members of Congress, Senators and Judges, and bring them into the party "round up." They anticipated a "government" of statesmen rather than a "plunderbund" of politicians.

In colonial times the State Senators of Maryland, were chosen by electors who were elected by the people. This plan may have given the members of the Constitutional Convention their idea of electing the President by electors. Every five years the people of Maryland chose electors from the various districts of the state to constitute an electoral body, and these electors met to choose the fifteen state senators.

The people of the State were scattered over many miles, with no means of travel except by foot or horseback. They had no newspapers, their only chance of passing opinions from one to the other was by personal meetings. How could those people choose State Senators or any other officers from large districts? Of course, they could not, but they could choose from among their neighbors and acquaintances, intelligent men who could meet as a college of electors and pick out men who would be proper representatives of the people.

It was finally decided to have the President elected by Presidential Electors. This is a government of the people and also of the States, so it was decided that these Electors should be chosen by States, and that each State should have as many electors as it had Representatives in Congress and United States Senators. The two houses of Congress represent the people and the States, and this plan is similar to the plan of having the two houses of Congress choose the President; but the Presidential Electors would be independent of Congress and would be chosen for the special purpose of



choosing a President, and having done this they would have no further influence over him.

The Constitution says "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." It also adds that no office-holder of the United States shall be appointed an Elector. This is to prevent public officers from getting control of the Electoral College and using it to elevate one of their number to the Presidency. It was a guiding principle of the framers of the Constitution not to give any officer more power than is necessary, and it would not have been well to put into the hands of public officers the power of choosing the President.

The Constitution before it was amended said: "The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves." It then tells how these electors shall meet and vote and make lists of the persons voted for and send such lists to the President of the Senate, who shall on a certain day in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives open the certificates and count the votes. The person who has the highest number of votes, if a majority, shall be declared elected President, and the person who receives the next highest number of votes shall be Vice-President.

The number of Electors at the beginning was sixty-nine, now there are four hundred and eighty-three. The Constitution says: "The electors shall MEET in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons." The word "meet" is very important. Why could they not vote for two persons without meeting? Here we have sixty-nine men, or now four hundred and eighty-three, divided among the different States, chosen for the special work of voting for

two men, one of whom shall be President and one Vice-President. They are chosen for their ability to make a good choice. It is to be assumed that they will be well qualified to do their work. Now, could they not vote without Meeting? Could they not vote by ballot in the same manner that we now ask the people to vote for our officers? Now we do not let the people "meet." If it is necessary for sixty-nine able men to meet in little groups of from three to twelve to decide on whom they shall finally cast their ballots for, is it not much more necessary for sixteen million people to MEET in little groups to enable them to decide on whom they shall vote for President? Shall we expect the mass of the people to do what a few of the most able men of the country cannot do? Of course, the Electors would have to meet in some way to talk over men for President before they could cast their ballots and have any kind of agreement in the vote. The meeting may be official or unofficial, but it would be necessary. Now, we say we know how all the Electors are going to vote. Yes, the "meetings" have been held, at which it was decided whom they shall vote for. These meetings were the National Conventions of the two great parties; that is the place where Presidents are made; that is the place where the real meetings of the Presidential Electors are held; that is where the Electors learn on whom they shall agree. But the design of the framers of the Constitution was that the Electors would be chosen for their wisdom and patriotism, that they would meet, deliberate, and vote for two good men. It was thought they might not be able to agree on one man for President and one for Vice-President, so they were to vote for two men. They would vote for the two men they considered best for President. The man on whom the largest number should agree would probably be the best man and would make a good President. The man on whom the next highest number of electors

should agree would be Vice-President. Of course, the people could not pick out a President without meeting. The legislature could provide some means by which the people could choose Electors, and these Electors, chosen for their special ability, by meeting, could discover a good man for President. Of course, it would be necessary for the Electors of the different States to have meetings or conventions to agree on some man or men who should be considered at the regular meetings of the Electors. What plan could have been devised that would better focus the intelligence and desires of the people and produce a good choice?

The first meetings of Presidential Electors, 1792, 1796, 1800, resembled party conventions. There is this difference. The Electors represented all the people, instead of a part of them. The Electors were public officials chosen to do a public duty. The Delegates to a convention are politicians seeking their own advantage "all the time." The Electors choose the best men for the people. The Delegates choose the best men for the party. The Electors are animated by patriotism, the Delegates are led by partisanship. The Statesman is the fruit of one method, the Politician of the other.

#### *Election of Presidential Electors.*

The Constitution says that the Presidential Electors shall be appointed in such a manner as the State Legislatures may direct. The electors have been chosen in different ways: by the houses of the legislature voting jointly, by the houses of the legislature voting concurrently, by the people electing them on State tickets, by the people electing them in districts.

At the beginning in most of the colonies the electors were chosen by the legislatures directly. In Delaware they were so chosen till 1832, in South Carolina till 1860, in New York till 1828.



They were elected by districts in about a dozen States at different times, in New York in 1828. They were elected by general tickets in all the States except South Carolina since 1832, except in 1892 Michigan chose electors by districts, the first time any State had such an election since 1832, which was in Maryland. This method of voting by districts is the most Democratic. The Constitution left the matter of deciding how the electors shall be chosen to the State legislatures. If there were no parties to arouse popular prejudice and excitement, the district plan would seem to be the one that would carry out the ideas of the framers of the Constitution. The people of each Congressional District would be more able to choose a good elector from their district than they would be able to choose several electors from the whole State. How can the people of the State of New York by direct nomination or election, choose thirty-nine electors scattered all over the State? Without previous arrangement it is safe to say that in the State of New York, no two men out of the million voters would vote for the same thirty-nine candidates. All the plans and discussions of the Constitutional Convention show that the framers had no idea of political parties nominating the electors for the people to vote for. If they had, they would have made different provision.

What can be plainer than that the State should organize the people so they can express themselves? It did not do so, parties grew up to do it, to organize the people so they could express themselves, but the parties have organized the people under the politicians. The opportunity of the people now is the organization of themselves under the government, as they should have been organized in 1787.

Washington was nominated by common consent, spontaneously, by the voice of the people. He was the most prominent figure of the time. In a similar way Adams was chosen Vice-President. Parties began to form under Washington's administration. In 1796 the first true nominations



were made. Then there were the Federal and Democratic parties. The members of these parties in Congress held a caucus and decided upon their candidates, and the electors were chosen mostly by the State Legislatures. This method of nominating candidates was followed till 1824. The Congressional caucus had become all powerful through custom in nominating candidates, and indirectly in naming the President. This caucus was properly called "King Caucus". In 1824 there were four candidates, all Democrats. The four candidates were chosen by common consent of the party leaders, they being four prominent men of the party, although legislative caucuses supported the various candidates. The first National Convention was held in 1832.

"The overthrow of "King Caucus" was properly regarded as the greatest political reform since the establishment of the Republic."—*New York World*.

The National Convention took the place of King Caucus, and we may, therefore call it King Convention. It is proposed by the reformers to have the Party Committee take the place of King Convention, and then it will be proper to speak of King Committee. But we propose to have the people in their parliamentary assemblies take the place of caucus, convention and committee, and then the people will be King. If the substitution of the convention for the caucus was the greatest political reform since the establishment of the Republic, the substitution of the people for the convention will be the greatest political reform in the history of the race.

Which is more democratic, the National Convention under the rule and domination of the party bosses, or the Electoral College, acting under law, elected by the delegates of the people chosen in assemblies of the people?

*What the Founders Wanted to Avoid.—The Contest As We Have It Now.*

The founders did not provide for the carrying out of the plan of electoral voting, and, therefore, their desired plan has failed. We will do what they should have done and we shall see the wisdom of their plan. We will elect now as they should have elected at the beginning.

*How the People Were Supposed to Choose President.*

The Constitution provides that the President shall be elected by electors chosen by the several States in such manner as the legislatures may direct. The thought of the framers of the Constitution was that the legislatures would appoint or have the people choose the best men in the respective States for Presidential Electors, and that these men would meet in their respective States and vote for the two best men they could think of for President, and the man who had the most votes would be President, and the one having the next highest number of votes would be Vice-President.

*How the People Would Do If There Were No Parties to Name Candidates for Presidential Electors.*

In the State of New York the voters would be called upon to choose thirty-nine electors. For myself I could name thirty-nine men who would be suitable for electors, but I could not name one in each Congressional District without consulting an almanac or political directory, and I am absolutely certain that the thirty-nine men I would name would not be named by anybody else, and I think that no two men in the State would name the same men. It would take a long time to count the votes and determine which thirty-nine men had received the greatest number, and it is quite certain that they would not receive a majority. If the people of each Congressional District were to elect one elector for that

district and two for the whole State, the confusion would be nearly as great. How twenty thousand or fifty thousand voters can go to the polls and vote for the same men without previous arrangement is beyond the understanding of even a mind-reader. The fact is if there were no machinery to nominate candidates, the people would not vote at all, there would be no one to vote for.

## HOW THEY DO WITH PARTIES.

### *In Theory.*

The members of the party in town or ward caucuses choose delegates for a county convention. These delegates choose other delegates to a State convention, the State convention chooses delegates to a National convention. The National convention nominates a candidate, and the members of the party vote for him. The choice of the convention is the choice of the members of the party, for the members have given their instructions to the local delegates to represent them.

### *In Practice.*

The National convention is called by the party leaders. The State conventions are then called by the State leaders. The county conventions by the county leaders, and the town caucus by the local leaders. The slate is made up at "head-quarters". The people listen for the groan from the "Amen Corner". It does not matter what names appear on the ballot for delegates, they are bound by the instructions of the managers. The various conventions meet, and like clock work carry out their instructions. The members of the party vote for their candidates, and if they are successful they are much elated over the fact that their wishes have triumphed.

*How They Would Do in the Washington Party.*

All the people would assemble in their election districts, discuss candidates for the Presidency, and select one or more of their best men to represent them as delegates. The men would meet in their county conventions and choose their best men as delegates to a Congressional district convention. This convention would consist of the direct representatives of the people and would pick out the best man in the district for a Presidential elector. The people all over the country would do likewise. The College of Electors would meet, discuss candidates and pick out the best man they could think of for President.

The election of President is a National election. The candidates are chosen by National conventions, and only those chosen at such conventions can be voted for by the people. If we must confine ourselves to the choice between the two men nominated by the two parties, the nomination of Presidential Electors, as Governor Hughes says, is of no account. It may be left to the party convention or bosses.

This institution of party, by which the President is nominated, has become an unwritten part of the Constitution. It has become a second Constitution, more powerful than that which is written. Shall we make it a part of the real Constitution? Shall we adopt the party constitution under which the people must act? Shall we turn the election of President over to the two great parties and make it a law that those whom they nominate we must elect?

If the people could meet in Parliamentary Assemblies to choose electors the ideal conditions would be met. In most of the election districts, cities and states, a party nomination by the dominating party is equivalent to an election, that is the man who is nominated is elected. After the nomination is made the people actually have nothing to say as to who



shall be the officer. The nomination is in the hands of a committee, and the election is practically in the hands of the same parties.

There is only one way for the people to elect and that is to *choose*. The idea of the people electing one of the two candidates nominated by the parties would be grotesque if we were not used to it. It is not *choice* at all. The people simply must consent to take one of the two men nominated. For the people to choose a President they must have an opportunity to express their choice. They may have in mind some man whom they would like for President; and if so they should have an opportunity to name that man. It is more likely they will have no one in mind, and in that case the only thing they can do is to secure representatives to make a choice for them. They can give their representatives such instructions as they see fit, but it is absolutely certain that the representatives of the people chosen by them in their parliamentary assemblies would express the will of the people as far as their will could be expressed. It would give the people a chance to name their choice for President by exactly so many votes, if they had a choice, and it would give them a chance to pick out a representative citizen to confer with other representatives chosen by like assemblies to arrive at a common opinion. There is no question but that the people assembled would pick out the best men of each locality, and it is just as certain that those men when assembled as a convention would pick out their best men to make up a higher assemblage. And the Electoral College made up of the State Electors would be the most intelligent and best equipped body of men in the Nation to choose the President. Their nomination would be an election. It was generally admitted that the Republican nominee in 1908 would be elected. Now which is best, to leave the choice of President to one man, as it was in that case, or to leave it to a College

of four hundred eighty-three Electors chosen by the people of the whole country, chosen for the special purpose of choosing a President? There are no two sides to the answer. The Parliamentary Assembly will give an exact expression of the sentiments of the people. They could even express themselves for first, second and third choice.

Our written Constitution has become a dead letter through negligence of the government to provide the necessary means by which the people can act. Parties have taken the place that the people should have taken, and now we say the Constitution has become a dead letter. Let us restore its life. Let the people express themselves in their political schools, the school-houses turned into Parliamentary Assemblies, let them choose representatives who will make up our Electoral Colleges.

There are thirty-nine Presidential Electors chosen in New York State. There are thirty-nine well known Colleges in the State. Suppose the President of each of these colleges was made an Elector, would they not be well qualified to select a President?

*Popular Vote.*

Why not let all the people of the United States vote directly for President, and let the man receiving the highest number of votes be declared elected? Without some "party" or committee to make nominations, the people would have no one in mind to vote for. They might be able to vote for one hundred good men, but without some chance to agree on whom they should vote for, they would not be able to vote at all. Their hands would be tied by sheer inability to decide on whom they wanted to vote for. There can be no agreement among the multitude until the leaders of opinion tell them on whom they *may* agree. Their desires would be "without form and void" until some sign should appear by which they may know whom their fellow citizens are think-

ing of. To agree we must know more than our own mind, we must know the mind of those with whom we must agree. We may all be able to guess the exact number of grains of sand in a box, but we would never be able to agree on who we think would be a good President without talking with those with whom we were to agree. Some great man, some true statesman may appear, and stand out like a giant among the people. On such the people could and would agree, but in the absence of a particular bright star our possible candidates for the Presidency would look like the Milky Way. The telescope of "party" or some other "organization" would be necessary to make clear the outlines of our candidate. We cannot agree on something we know nothing of. To agree we must have definite information as to what we are to agree to. We must act on a definite proposition and not be left to wander among sixteen million names.

But we have parties to name candidates for us. We have parties to tell us to take our choice between the two men whom they are pleased to pick out for us. Of course, we can agree as to which one of these two we want, and if that is all we can do it is hardly worth taking the trouble to agree, for it makes little difference which one we let rule us. We agree to let the politicians make their choice, which becomes our choice.

But after the parties nominate the two candidates that we are permitted to agree on, why not let us vote directly on the two names instead of voting for the electors who vote for the same men we would vote for? If the electoral votes of New York are counted for Taft, why not have all the votes cast for such electors counted for Taft? This would make the final result depend on the actual number of votes cast, and the contest would not be determined until all the votes in the United States had been counted. The result may be close and the votes of a few men may turn the scale.



There would be great effort put forth to secure every vote. The contest would be carried into every nook and corner of the country, there would be no sure State and no doubtful State. The whole country would be doubtful. A vote in South Carolina would be of as much importance as a vote in New York. Now South Carolina is safely democratic and the State is saved the excitement of a Presidential Campaign. The same is true with many of the States. But the doubtful States form the real battleground, and yet a vote there is not so important as if the votes were cast directly for the candidates. The votes of New York determine how the thirty-nine electoral votes shall be cast. But those thirty-nine votes may not decide the election, and if these thirty-nine electors are chosen by one thousand popular votes it is just the same as if they were chosen by three hundred thousand votes. Voting for electors by States breaks the force of the waves of popular excitement as they dash upon the shore on election day. If all votes were cast directly for President, there would be great inducement to bribery. So when the leaders think they are going to carry a State, they cease their efforts to pile up a great popular majority, for the extra votes do not count. But if all votes were counted directly for the candidates, there would be an unceasing struggle for votes in every voting district in the United States until the last vote was cast.

The struggle between the parties would be much more bitter. The result would probably be the same. Each man would have the satisfaction of knowing that his vote was cast direct for President. But is that any satisfaction? As long as we cannot vote for the selection of the candidates, is it a great privilege to vote for one of the candidates that some politicians have picked out? Direct popular vote under parties is not desirable. Direct popular vote without parties is impossible as our election laws now are.



The people cannot vote directly for President, they can vote indirectly for candidates nominated by parties. They cannot nominate candidates for President, they cannot vote even indirectly for candidates who have not been nominated by political parties. Let us see how they came to vote as they do. What was the origin of the system?

When the framers of the government planned the election of President, their idea was to secure a good man for the office. The objections offered to the different plans of choosing a President at that time show that the statesmen were thinking only of choosing a capable man. What principles he should carry out did not enter into the discussion. When the people began to divide on questions of principle, then measures became more than men, and the choice of a good man gave way to the choice of a man, any man, who stood for certain principles. At the beginning there seemed to be no thought about expression of principles. Later there came to be only the thought of the expression of principles. The government made no provision for the expression of the will of the people beyond choosing officers, and the people to express their wills had to form parties and elect their parties to office and make their parties the government. In that sense parties are necessary. If we want to get a principle enacted into law, we must do it through a party. If we want to establish the principle of socialism in the state, we must put the socialist party in power. That is where our government is a failure, and that is why we say parties are necessary. They are necessary because of the failure. If we supply the defect they will not be necessary. Parties came to enable the people to rule by giving them a chance to express their choice of principles. Through organizing, the parties have bound and gagged the people so they cannot rule. Shall we unbind them? Shall we set them free?

*Why Was the Plan for Choosing President Adopted?*

The framers of the Constitution knew that the people could not meet to decide on a man, that they would not know how to pick out a suitable man, that they could not agree on a man without meeting or having somebody meet in their place. They knew that representatives of the people must get together to compare possible candidates. They were forming a representative government, and all the machinery was based on the representative principle. They thought the choice of officers should be in the hands of the people as far as possible, but they could see that the choice of the President could not be put into the hands of the people. They wanted the people to choose representatives directly as far as possible. But some of the representatives it was necessary to choose by other representatives. Each locality could pick out its best men, who would be able to choose better than the mass of the people themselves.

There was no question in their minds, and there is no question in the mind of any man today, but that the representatives of the people are better able to pick out a suitable President than are the whole body of voters. But if the President is to represent any political principle, then the wishes of the individuals should be considered. If the people could vote for the principle irrespective of the men, the choice of the men would be of little account. A Democrat does not care much about the officers as long as they are Democrats, but the framers of the Constitution were thinking that the people would be more interested in the choosing of good men, and these men they thought would be chosen best by representatives.

Party organizations came to express principles. The government should have provided a means for the people to express their wishes for principles, and parties would not have been. If it will do so now, parties will cease to be. They must be destroyed.

*My Part.*

What part did I take, could I take, last fall? I could vote for several men, but only two would stand any chance of winning, Bryan or Taft. Three months of debate to decide on which! But both are good men and it would not take long to decide. Of course, I did not personally know either one, but was told they are both good men. Only a small part of the voters can know the candidates, but from what was told us we cannot tell which is better, if there is any choice. But suppose I wanted to vote for Bryan and Sherman, I could not have done so, it would have been utterly impossible. This shows I vote for party not for men.

What could I have done about the nomination of these candidates? Where was the inception of the nomination of these candidates?

Men are of no account. Principles are all important. Parties are important only as national organizations. Local parties amount to nothing. On national matters principle is all, but we cannot express ourselves on principles at all. We can have "direct" nominations for a few officers, but no "direct" action on principles. Why neglect the most important part?

Mr. Hughes says there is no use to bother with Presidential Electors. Let party managers pick out electors. But have the people nothing to say about who shall be our President? No, absolutely nothing. The people must take the candidates picked out by the parties. We cannot vote directly for principles, we must take the principles and the men given us by the parties, and it does not matter what principles the parties may propose. Suppose I do not belong to any party, have I no right to have my voice heard? Are we going to say by State law that the people of the State are bound to accept for President the men that the political parties, private affairs, nominate for them?

Shall the legislature say the people must take their choice between two men picked out by party leaders? Shall the State delegate the choosing of Presidential Electors to the bosses of political parties?

The question of importance now is: "Shall the people rule, or shall the parties rule?" Are these parties necessary or can the people be entrusted with power? Shall the people be enfranchised by being allowed to assemble to express themselves, or shall they be further disfranchised by being compelled to get into parties, and to petition to have a voice in the party management?

When the State says we must be in parties to choose candidates, to vote, it says we *must be* governed by parties. Parties are not only necessary according to the views of our statesmen, but they are made absolutely necessary by the State law. The State says you may vote, but first you must get into or belong to some party.

The individual is the unit of society! No, the corporation is the unit of society. A corporation is an artificial person created by the State, New York Central Railroad, Equitable Insurance Co., etc. We now recognize political parties as corporations above the people, to whom the people must bow, whose collars the people must wear or be declared outlawed citizens. Shall the people rule? The corporation is the unit of society, and this is a government of corporations, by corporations and for corporations.





## CHAPTER XIV.

## DIRECT NOMINATIONS.

*Tower of Babel.*

A lot of bricks scattered over a yard will not become a house until some one designs a plan for the house and the masons do their work in arranging the bricks for the house according to the plan.

Now, if these bricks could talk and could put themselves in any place, or position, they could not arrange themselves into a house without coming together in a parliamentary meeting where each could learn the opinions and desires of the others, and out of the mass of opinions form a common opinion and desire.

The people's votes are like these bricks. Each person has a "vote", opinions and a desire to express those opinions. How can these opinions and desires, the votes of the people, be expressed? How can these different shaped and odd sized bricks be formed into a temple of government in which the people rule, a temple that represents the composite will of all the voters?

How are the bricks to be assorted and arranged into courses with due respect to size, shape and color? They must be brought "together" where they can be compared, measured and counted. After the architect considers his material and the desire of the builder he makes the plan. Without "organization" the voters would be in a worse plight than the people confused in their efforts to build the tower of Babel. The people in parliamentary assemblies would be the material, they could express their desires, and they would be the architects of their own temple of government, the "god" of party could not confuse their tongues. Instead of the Lord it is the "gods" of party who say: "Behold, the people are one, and they have all one language; and this they begin

to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." Gen. 11, 6. Direct nominations would be the bricks scattered to the four quarters of the State, confusion worse confounded. Under the present system the Boss is the architect and the people's votes are "gold bricks".

*Must Be Parties?*

People cannot act together as a city or State without an organization to enable them to act in co-operation.

People cannot act in the State without parties. Why? Because they cannot organize themselves for co-operative action. People cannot act in a party without a boss. Why? Because they cannot organize themselves for co-operative action. The same condition that makes it necessary to have a party in the State makes it necessary to have an organization within the party, and that is why we have bosses, and must have them. To say that party government is necessary is to say that Boss government is necessary.

There are as many Republican voters in New York as there are voters in Massachusetts. Now, if the *voters* of Massachusetts must have a party to enable them to express themselves at the polls, the *Republican voters* of New York must have an organization within the party to enable them to express themselves. If we must have party government we MUST have BOSS government.

Mr. Hughes says officers are voted for "directly", therefore let us have party candidates voted for "directly" by the members of the party. But the people cannot vote directly for the candidates without some party to pick out candidates on whom the people can agree. How can the voters within a party vote "directly" on a candidate without some party to pick out the candidate for them to vote for? Ah, the com-

mittee does that. The members of the committee meet face to face and then decide. That is how all political action originates—there must be actual meeting of those who express themselves. Those who do not meet “agree” to what the others have done, but have nothing to say about doing it. Those who meet are the leaders. Shall it be the people under the State or the politicians under the Party?

*The Fog.*

So much has been said about “direct” nominations and elections that it is best to look directly into the matter to see what is behind all the fog.

What is the difference between direct and indirect political action? When we vote for a man, that is direct action. When we vote for somebody to vote for another man, that is indirect action. We vote for the second man indirectly. In a pure democracy we govern by direct action; in a republic we govern by indirect action. When we vote for representatives we vote for what we want indirectly.

What is the difference between an election and a nomination? In an election we choose a man for an officer; in a nomination we choose a man for a *candidate* for an office. The people of the whole State choose the officer; the people of one of the parties, about half the people of the State, choose the candidate. But more people take part in New York in choosing a candidate than take part in Massachusetts in choosing an officer.

In an election we choose one of two men proposed to us for our consideration; in a nomination we choose one man from any number of possible candidates. The election is therefore more simple than the nomination.

The nomination is made first and then the election is held. The nomination must be made first; and that is the fact that is important. Without the nomination there could



be no election. That is the fact that should startle us. If it were not for that, parties would not be necessary. It is because nominations must be made before there can be an election that we must have parties. Parties are necessary to make the nominations. After the nominations are made, after two men are picked out, then the voters can decide between these two, then they can make their "direct" choice.

At the election the voters decide between the Democratic and Republican candidates or throw away their votes by voting for some "third" party.

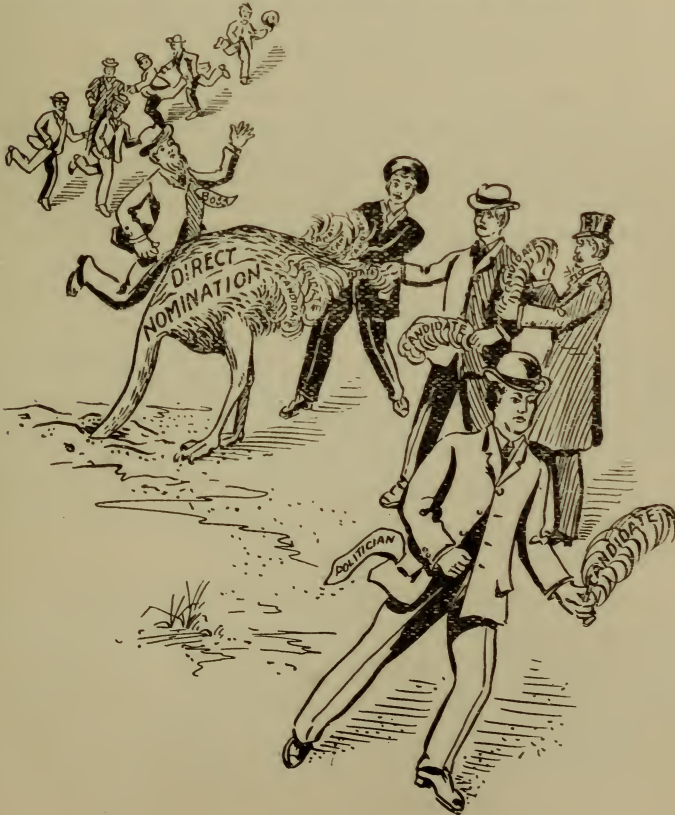
At the nomination what do the voters do? Nothing. What can they do? Nothing. It is because the voters can not do anything "directly" that parties are necessary. If they could act within the party "directly" they could act without the party "directly". We may say there are fewer people in the party than in the State. There are *more* voters in the Republican party today than there were in the whole country twenty-five years ago. There are more voters in the Republican party in New York than there are voters in the State of Massachusetts. The Republican voters of New York could choose a candidate more easily than the voters of Massachusetts could choose a governor without having nominations made.

If the people could go to the polls and vote for officers without having nominations made beforehand, parties would not be necessary. But the voters cannot do this. They can not agree on candidates, and two candidates must be selected for them to agree on.

Now, if the Republican voters of New York should go alone to the polls could they choose a governor, if no nominations were made? No better than can all the voters of Massachusetts if no nominations were made. Can the Republican voters of New York go to the polls and select a can-

didate? No better than they can go to the polls and select an officer without a previous nomination.

All the statesmen say parties are necessary because the people cannot pick out officers without such preliminary action. It is plain as day that several hundred thousand people cannot tell whom all the others are thinking about unless they have a chance to express themselves and hear one another. Nobody expects that the voters could go to the polls and choose an officer if no nominations were made. But some pretend to expect that the voters of a party can go to the polls and choose a candidate for an office.



Mr. Hughes says: "Those who in attempting to perfect any system which has such a close relation to the public welfare as the method of party nominations, ignore the necessity and continuance of party organization, and like the ostrich bury their heads in the sand."

Those who "ignore the necessity of party organization" do not stick their heads into the sand as deep as those who say parties are necessary because the people *cannot pick out an officer directly*, and then say direct nominations are good because the people *can pick out a candidate directly*. Let those who have no sand in their heads judge of the soundness of the arguments for direct nominations.

How are nominations made? By conventions. These conventions are made up of delegates appointed by political leaders. Theoretically the party voters go to the polls at the primary one by one, not being allowed to talk, and vote "directly" for the delegates who are to represent them at the convention. That is direct voting for delegates, who would nominate candidates, and the candidates we say would be the indirect choice of voters. But how are the party voters to know whom to vote for when they get into the polling places? How can they agree? Oh, the leaders have picked out a list of delegates for them to agree on, all the voters have to do is to put the little ballot they find waiting for them, into the box—they put it "directly" into the box, and that makes it "direct" voting. See!

But what is the new plan of direct nominations? Why the party voters are going to the polls to vote "directly" for a man for a candidate for governor. But we all say they cannot do that. True. But there will be a "committee" that will "suggest" a man for them to vote for, and of course as he will be the only one to vote for, it will be an easy matter for the party voter to make his "direct"ed choice.

Now the voters go to the primary to choose delegates "directly", and these delegates go to the convention and nominate a candidate. Under the proposed direct nominations law, the party voter will not "waste his time" on delegates, he will not bother with them, he will let the committee pick out the candidate and then he will say that he wants the man the committee picks out. He wants to say he wants the candidate. He does not want to say he wants any particular delegates, nor does he want to give instructions to any delegates. Never mind about them. He wants to vote "direct" for the candidate that the committee picks out for him. But suppose the committee does not pick out anybody as a candidate, or a "good" candidate, what can the party voter do? Then he can vote just as if there were no parties, of course. He can go out and "dig bait" while the "Boys" fish. But what is this committee that is to make this suggestion? The committee is made up of a few men who are chosen by "direct" vote of the party members at the primaries the same as the delegates are now chosen.

### *The Contrast.*

Assemblyman Green, of New York, introduced the "Direct Nominations Bill". He prepared and gave out to the papers a comparison between the present system, which is declared a "farce", and what he calls the Hughes system. I give three of his most important paragraphs, with short comments of my own:

### NOMINATIONS.

#### *Present System.*

"Party candidates are nominated by conventions composed of delegates chosen in primaries, or by delegates who have been chosen by other delegates in conventions."

#### *Hughes' System.*

"All party candidates must be nominated by the direct vote of the enrolled party voters and not otherwise. Conventions are abolished."



Instead of the last paragraph would it not be well to say that all the officers must be elected by the direct vote of the voters without any party nominations and *not otherwise*. *Nominations* are abolished. How would it work? Would it not work as effectively as the "Hughes system?"

### CONVENTIONS.

"Delegates to nominating conventions, instructed by the party voters, may be unseated at the will of the bosses and the will of the voters may thus be nullified."

Some of the delegates are usually unseated, and so the will of some of the people is nullified. It is interesting to note that Mr. Green states that the delegates express the "will of the voters."

"Conventions are abolished and instructions are rendered unnecessary, since the party voters are enabled to express their will directly."

Instructions by the people are unnecessary to those who suggest candidates! How are the committeemen to know whom the voters want for a candidate? If the voters are able to express their will *directly for candidates* why can they not express their will *directly for an officer* without a party nomination at all?

### PLATFORM.

"Party platforms are framed ostensibly in conventions before candidates are nominated, and the men who are expected to carry them out have no voice in making them."

"Party platforms are framed by the State committee, in council with the candidates who have been nominated by the party in the primary."

Platforms *should be* framed in conventions of "instructed delegates" who will know what the members of the party want. The candidates *need not* have any voice in the making of the platform. It should be made to suit the *voters* and not the candidate. Of course the platform should be made *before* the candidate is nominated. He is to stand on the platform, and if he cannot do that he should not accept the nomination.

The State committee, the members of which are not instructed and cannot be instructed by the party voters, make up the platform with the candidates. They tell the people what they must believe. Under the old theory we tell our delegates what we believe and they pick out a man who believes as we do. Now it is proposed to go on the theory that we pick out a man and have him tell us what we believe. If that is the "theory" what will the "practice" be?

Now, *in theory*, candidates are chosen and platforms are written by delegates who are "instructed by the party voters." Under the "Hughes system" "instructions are rendered unnecessary," for the "committee" will suggest the candidate, the voters will say "Yes," and then the committee and candidate will *tell us* what our principles are.

### JUST BEGUN.

Some newspapers that strongly insist that parties are necessary, now that there is talk of "direct nominations", profess to discover grave defects in the convention system of making party nominations. One of them says:

"Every adult person in New York State, endowed with ordinary faculties of perception and reason, knows that the convention system is *a failure* as a form of representative government. It neither expresses the popular will nor

affects to express it. The very delegates who attend the Conventions, scoff and sneer at any suggestion that they represent the people, or that they are free to make their own deliberate choice of candidates. Every newspaper that reports to its readers the proceedings of a party convention, takes cognizance of the patent fact that the delegates are the creatures of one or more men who will determine, in secret, behind closed doors, what the action of the convention shall be. Everyone knows that this is the rule of operation in state, county, district and city conventions, and that it has been as thoroughly established as a feature of our government as if it had been written into the statue and constitution. To pretend that the people have any part in this performance is nonsense, known as such to everyone who offers this pretense in defense of the present system of nominations."

The convention system in theory is a perfect device as a form of representative government. It is a failure. Why? Its failure is in the practice. It does not represent the members of the party. If the convention represented the party voters, no one could find fault with the convention system. It is a perfect expression of the principles of representative government, but the delegates to the convention do not represent the party voters. It does not express the popular will, but it does affect to express it. The delegates represent the bosses instead of the people. Everyone knows that of course. The wheels of the machine of the convention system work in perfect harmony. It is a good machine. The trouble is in applying the power to the main wheel in the gearing. The boss applies the power in the present system. If the people could apply the power, the system would be perfect. The system of party management is exactly like the system of representative government developed by the people and expressed in our constitutions. If the convention system is

wrong, then representative government is all wrong. Conventions represent the members of the party, exactly as our officers in the Legislature and Congress represent the people. The defect is not in the system, but in the application of the system, in the application of the power necessary to run the system. The defect in our government is repeated in our party government. We cannot act in the government without parties; we cannot act in the party without a "party" within it. One wheel is geared onto another until we get to the real source of power. The "boss" is the party "within" the party. He is to the party what the party is to the State. As the boss must be destroyed to save the party system, so the party must be destroyed to save the State as a government by the people.

The system expresses the will of those who run the system. We only need to substitute the people instead of the bosses. The bosses decide on who shall be the delegates and the party voters approve their choice. The delegates are the bosses' delegates by choice and the people's delegates by necessary approval. Now it is proposed by the new direct nominations law to substitute the nominating "committee" for the nominating "convention", and where would be the gain? The committee would be like the old "King Caucus". The committee would have absolute power in the choosing of candidates, for although the voters of the party could put up an opposition candidate, they would not take the trouble to do so, and if they did name a candidate he would not stand any chance of election. The whole delusion is in thinking that the voters will choose the committeemen "directly". The committeemen will be proposed by petitions, but who will prepare and circulate those petitions? Those who can afford to do so—the politicians who are on the job, those who are interested in keeping control of the party organization. They will realize that to control the



committee is to be the party. Now, what chance does the individual stand against the present committees, the present machine?

Governor Hughes says:

"With exceptions almost negligible the people are divided for political purposes into two great parties. Action outside the parties is practically ineffective save as it may voice a protest."

Mr. Hughes knows, or ought to know, that the committee is worse than the convention. He has been nominated by two conventions of his party, but the State committee that would nominate him under the proposed law is against him and his proposed reform. The delegates at the convention wanted Hughes. The committee made up by these delegates do not want him. The committee gets farther away from the party voters than does the convention. If the committee is truly representative at the beginning, but is not instructed by the party voters, it will become a machine itself. If the individual members of the party, here and there, actually circulate petitions and thus succeed in choosing committeemen not proposed by the party organization, these few members of the committee will be but a few rough spots for the machine to run over. They will soon be smoothed down into the party road under the roller of party necessity, and through their respectability they will become the main reliance of the machine. There is no use of letting the people approve what the committees do. Of course, they will have to approve it. The only remedy is to let them *select* the committee or delegates, and not only to select them but to instruct them what to do.

This newspaper quotation says: "The bill aims to restore directly to the people the power which is now exercised by the irresponsible heads of the party machines."

This is a mistaken conception. The people never had this power, and therefore it cannot be "restored" to them, and this bill does not entrust this power to them. This bill does not enable the people to initiate action, except by circulating a petition at their own expense. It lets them approve the action of the committee, but it practically makes them approve by making it almost impossible for them to disapprove it. As Governor Hughes says, action outside of the organization is practically "negligible."

The editor says again: "Shall we make our own nominations, after deliberation and discussion, or shall we continue to permit them to be made for us without our previous consent, and often without our previous knowledge?"

Shall we meet in parliamentary assemblies or shall we simply approve the choice of the committee, "after deliberation and discussion?" What chance is there for deliberation and discussion without actual meeting of the party voters? We can discuss in our homes or on the street with our neighbors, and then we can go out, each one with a petition. Such a plan would give plenty of deliberation and some discussion, but we would not have time to do it. We would never be able to agree on whose petition we should sign even if we did not have one of our own. How shall we know that there will be any petition circulated, if we do not do it ourselves? How do we know who will want to sign our petition? How do we know whose names we can put on our petition for committeemen? Shall I sit down and make out a list of committeemen and then go out and ask a majority of the voters of my party to approve my judgment? Would it not be better to meet with them in parliamentary assembly and express myself and let *them* express themselves? Perhaps they may have some suggestions that will be as valuable as my own. Perhaps they will not be willing to take the entire list that I make up. Why should I expect them to approve my

list any more than they should expect me to approve a list made up by any other member of my party? This government by petition makes bossism necessary. It makes it necessary for one man in a locality to set himself up as a judge for his party to select committeemen, and to go out and induce a majority of the members of the party to agree with him; and after all this trouble should he not have some reward, and will it be strange if the committeemen picked out by him shall be his personal friends who will remember him in their future work? Will not these committeemen represent the "patriot" who went around with the petition to have them made committeemen rather than the "mere people" who were induced to sign the petition? We have heard about "Vest Pocket" delegates. This plan would make all our committeemen "Vest Pocket" committeemen. Every circulator of a petition would be a vest pocket edition of Croker, Platt, Woodruff or Connors.

If I want an office I may be able to afford to go out with a petition, for I will be able to get my money back, but if I have no ambition for public life, can I afford to do this? For me to deliberately make up a list of committeemen and ask a majority of the members of my party to approve my choice, I would need to have more brass than a "government mule."

There is only one way by which the voters can make their own selection of committeemen, and that is to have all the voters of the party meet face to face, in parliamentary assembly, where they can express themselves by an informal ballot "after deliberation and discussion." We shall never "make" our own nominations by approving the slate of the "committee". We could choose our own candidates in such a case about as much as we choose our parents. The waiter at the boarding house says: "We have pork and beans for dinner, what will you have?" and the boarder must say, "I will have beans and pork, if you please."

The editor says:

"If the people are in earnest in desiring their government to represent the popular will, they will eliminate the party convention as an incumbrance upon the expression of their purpose. Even in the old days when it was more truly representative, it could do nothing that the people could not do as well, acting directly for themselves."

If they desire the government to represent their will they will eliminate party conventions, committees, bosses and parties themselves. Under the party system, the convention has been and is the only means by which the members of the party can express themselves. Without the conventions they will be at the mercy of the self-appointed bosses. Without the convention or committee there could be no party organization. To denounce party conventions is to denounce parties altogether, for the convention is the most democratic way the party can express the wishes of its members. Without conventions the people "acting directly for themselves" could do absolutely nothing. The people must be organized to act. They have not been organized by the State, and parties have come to do it through conventions. If we entrust the power of the government to the people through the Parliamentary Assembly, they can express themselves, and parties will cease to be. The people act now under the yoke of party bossism. The organization of the people must be substituted for the organization of the party.

#### *Directing Nominations.*

The only way the voters can "direct" the nominations of the candidates is through the parliamentary assembly.

There after "deliberation and discussion" they can express their wishes by ballot. Such expressions will be direct. People can act directly or through delegates, but to approve the choice made by committees is not direct action. The choice of committeemen by petition is not direct action. It



is direct to those having enough interest to circulate the petitions, and such will be the officeholders and those interested in controlling them. We want to direct our officers by declaring our principles, that is why we vote for "party". But the only way to express ourselves on principles is through the assembly. Every "body" of men throughout the world meet face to face when it comes time to express themselves—everybody except the little groups of the American Democracy.

The people have been taking no action. They could not act directly and their representatives have not acted for them. Ours has been a haphazard government, run on temporary expedients, for the benefit of those exercising the power of government.

Under the proposed law, after the committee names the candidate, I may deliberate and discuss with myself whether I shall circulate a petition. If I decide to do so, I must "assemble" the people by going around from house to house to meet with them. Instead of having all the people come together, I must go to them one by one, and every other person must do the same. Suppose there are twenty men in my election district who do not like the choice of the committee and are enough interested to circulate a petition, we shall have twenty men trying to get the voices of all the members of the party in that election district. It will be practically necessary to have twenty meetings of all the voters with each of these twenty men, and then the voters would not have a chance to express themselves; and if all the people with these twenty men could meet together at one meeting, they could consider all the proposed petitions and could give perfect expression to their wishes.

*"Directed" Nominations.*

Now that the newspapers and statesmen are discussing nominations we are getting some truth told of the way nom-

inations are made. Now it is made clear that our party conventions are farces. Everybody now knows that nominations are dictated and directed by one man or by a few men, who have no thought of the people except to pull the wool over their eyes, to deceive them and get their support.

If the convention of one thousand men, chosen from all parts of the State, chosen by the people and for a special purpose, sometimes instructed to do a certain thing, can be brought under the control of one man, what will become of a committee of smaller size, picked out a year before the time to nominate the candidates? If the convention listens to the Amen Corner, will not the committee do likewise? The same men that make up the convention will be on the committee, and they will be there for the same purpose. Human nature is not going to be changed by passing a direct nominations law. The committeemen will show the same disregard for the will of the people that the delegates to the convention have shown. They say the committee will be restrained in its action by the knowledge that the people may not approve its selection. The committee will know that the voters of the party will approve its selection. That is what members belong to the party for. If they are not going to follow the party leaders, what are they in the party for? And if they do not want the candidate proposed by the committee what will they do? What can they do? Why is the choice of the committee ever likely to be bad? Why do we think it may not always do what is best for the party voters? Because the choice is made by one man or by a few men, and the choice is made in the interest of the men by whom it is made. A few men possess, in the convention, the power of the voters of the whole State. This power is capable of being used to the advantage of these few men, and it is human nature for them to use it. And these same men, when put in similar circumstances, will always use power entrusted to

them in the same way. A government by the few is for the few, and it cannot be otherwise.

But the same objections will lie against the man who is picked out to be a candidate for nomination against the man suggested by the committee. He will be chosen by one man or by a few men for selfish purposes. Platt or Croker in the committee or out of the committee will be the same individual. The man to lead against the committee's choice must be "discovered", he must "announce" himself or he must be "found" by his friends. Some man or a few men acting together will just happen to know what the people want and will pick out an ideal candidate for them to approve instead of the one proposed by the committee. But why should these few who pick out an opposition candidate be any better than the members of the committee? All the designing politicians are not going to get into the party committees, there will be a few left outside to take advantage of opportunities that get in the way. But, it may be said, all the people will have a chance to suggest a candidate. Sure, Mister Reader, you have as much "chance" to suggest a name as has Mr. Woodruff, or Mr. Murphy, but your suggestion will not "go". What is the difference? Mr. Woodruff and Mr. Murphy stand for the "organization", you stand for yourself.

Senator Root says: "Organization will always overcome disorganization." You with several hundred thousand voters of the State are not organized. You represent "disorganization". Mr. Woodruff is at the head of a powerful organization. In the State conventions there "appear" guides, leaders, statesmen, bosses. They will appear in the committee, they must appear among the people if they are to suggest a candidate. How is this Moses of the people to appear? It is easy for Woodruff to get into contact with the members of the convention or the committee, and through the organization he can come into some kind of contact with the mem-

bers of the party throughout the State, but without "organization" how would even Mr. Woodruff or Mr. Murphy, put his hand on the pulse of the people, how could he read their minds and pick out the candidates who would be their choice? Mr. Murphy can lead the Democrats of New York because they follow "party" and vote "regular", but if he were outside the committee, would he be able to pick a candidate with a magic name that would weld the voters of the party into one supporting mass; and if he could do so, would it be the people who were acting or Mr. Murphy? If the people rule they must be organized. Organizing is ruling.

The wire that connected the White House with the Chicago Convention "directed" the nomination and the platform of the Republican National Convention. The wire that connected Mr. Bryan with the Democratic Convention "directed" the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention. What would have been the difference if the action of the convention had to be approved by the members of each party, would there have been any opposition? Could there have been any successful opposition?

When the State Committee meets in place of the State Convention, where will Murphy be, and where will Woodruff be? The Democratic politicians *have* made up the Democratic convention. Who will make up the Democratic State Committee under the proposed nominations law? Probably the men will be Democratic politicians too. If they take directions from Mr. Murphy when they are the Convention, shall they cease to listen to him when they become the "Committee"? Will they be afraid that the "people" will not approve their choice? Don't they know what the people of their party can do if they do not want to approve their choice? Why, they can organize a machine within the machine to beat the machine and yet not be a machine? When the Republican State Committee meets will



Woodruff cease to direct? When the Monroe County Committee meets, where will Aldridge be? When the Erie County Democracy assembles as the "Committee" where will Connors be? At the helm you may be sure. We have had "directed" nominations under the convention system, and they will continue to be "directed" under the committee system, and the "people" will follow directions. When the medicine is ladled out to them according to "directions" they will not refuse the dose.

*What Is the Difference?*

We now have all that Governor Hughes asks for. He wants the people to choose committeemen by petition, and then vote for them at the primaries. That he calls "direct" action. We now do the same, we vote for the party committeemen at the primary and also for the delegates to choose candidates. Our present method is as direct as the one he proposes. His plan is to make the nomination of committeemen by petition. Now the committee proposes the names of the new committee that the voters approve, but the voters can also propose other names and vote for them without even getting up a petition. The voters can put in any one they choose for committeemen, any one they choose for delegates. They do not do it of course, because they would have to go to the trouble of ascertaining the wishes of a majority of the district by going through the district and talking with the voters. Some one individual must take it upon himself to organize the voters and to express their wishes in the form of a ticket containing the names of the committeemen whom they want. Then these committeemen are candidates against those named by the regular party committee. There is not much chance for the irregulars to win, and if they do win they will have to act alone when they get to the convention. The difficulty the voters now have of organizing themselves in opposition to the party machine candidates for committee-

men and delegates would be met in the plan to have committeemen nominated by petition and then approved at the primary. The machine could easily prepare a petition, the same as they now prepare the slate, and the voters would have to prepare the slate just exactly as they do now. They do not do it, and they would not do it. The party committee would name the new committee, and the voters would approve the choice just as they do now. And who can give any reason why they would not do so? We can give a reason why they would do so, and that is, *that they do so now*. Under the proposed plan the committees would be chosen just as the delegates are now chosen.

The committees would name candidates, but could not nominate them. No, the voters must do that, and that is what makes it "direct" nomination. But the voters will approve the choice of the committee, for what else can they do? The voters now approve the choice of the party committee for delegates without any protest. Why would they not approve the choice of the committee under the new plan as they do under the old? If the voters of the party do not like the men suggested by the committee, whom can they vote for? Oh, they can vote for any one they wish, just as they do now. But how can they agree on candidates, without calling a convention of some kind to ascertain the wishes of the people? A boss within the committee suggests a candidate, then some boss outside of the committee may suggest another candidate, and then the people can fight it out between these two. Does this give the "people" any choice? It gives them a choice to say "yes" to what the committee does, but it gives them no chance to take affirmative action.

After the committee makes its suggestion the people may approve their action. If the people do not want to approve, they must organize themselves for united action to disapprove it. What plan does the new bill propose for such

organization for the people? Nothing. They can act *now* if they can organize themselves in opposition to the bosses. Senator Root said: "Organization will always overcome disorganization." The bosses control because the voters of the party cannot organize themselves, and any attempt to mitigate the evils of boss control through committees or other devices, is futile. The organization of the people is the one essential thing to be considered.

We *now vote direct* for committeemen and delegates. If we are not able to choose good delegates from neighbors whom we know, how shall we be able to choose good governors and other officers from among people we do not know? Direct voting is of no account unless we have the right man to vote for. As long as the people can take their choice between the candidates of the two great parties, what choice can they be said to have in selecting their officers? When they can take their choice between a candidate suggested by the committee and a candidate suggested by somebody who is "interested" enough to take the trouble, who has selfish interests enough to pay him for taking the trouble, somebody who for the purpose of giving the voters a chance to vote must constitute himself a boss outside of the organization, can the people be said to have any choice in their candidates?

"Suggestion." The committee can suggest, and the voters can approve or—. Yes, they can approve or let the other members of the party approve. If those who think the man suggested is unfit, refuse to vote for him, the thoughtless and indifferent will go to the polls and approve the committee's choice. The members of the party are used to voting with the party, not against it, and the name "suggested" will bear the marks of authority and will receive approval. All the reformers admit that an individual cannot beat the machine, and yet they propose to make it necessary for some

individual to circulate a petition and organize the people in opposition to the committee and beat the machine, and they seem to think that any individual can do this because the people can vote "direct" for the candidates proposed. They cannot see through the fog of "direct nominations" to the clear mountains of the "parliamentary assembly." Instead of calling it "direct" nominations, let us call it "directed" nominations, directed by the "committee", which would be more arbitrary than any convention; if not directed by the committee, then directed by some self-appointed boss who assumes to speak for the members of his party. The reformers provide no means for the people to express themselves, but seem to think if they do not like the man nominated by the committee, they can all agree on some one man to vote for in place of the one named by the committee. If they can do this, then why have any committee? Or why any nomination? Let them go to the polls and vote for the man they can agree upon by this wonderful psychological process. When the committee is under the control of a boss and makes bad nominations, then the Goddess of Liberty comes down to warn the people and puts into their minds the name of a candidate who will be acceptable to the people!

*Governor Hughes.*

Governor Hughes said at Brooklyn: "Our experience shows that the delegate system places power in the hands of the few who make a business of politics. It offers no fair opportunity to the ordinary citizen who is *hard at work* securing a livelihood and who has no time to devote to the fortunes of those who are seeking to build up an organization for political control."

Yes, it is plain to all who think of the matter that the delegate system, the convention system, places power in the hands of the few who make a business of politics. And in place of the convention of delegates what does the Governor



propose? He gives us a committee of delegates, at least a committee of men, if they are not "delegates" they are bosses or masters. "Delegate" seems to have become a word expressing an "undesirable citizen," but the man whom we choose to act for us is our delegate or he is our king, he represents us or he supplants us. If the committee shall not be our "delegates" then they will be nothing to us, but a "house of lords" over us. The delegate system places power in the hands of the few. The State convention is made up of about nine hundred delegates, but the proposed committee would have at most one hundred fifty members. So the "committee" system would place the power in the hands of the fewest "who make a business of politics." Those who make a business of politics become our delegates. Of course, that is their business. Who will become our committeemen? Those who make a business of politics, to be sure. How can a man become a committeeman if he does not make a business of politics? Those who are in politics for business will make it their business to get on the committees.

The delegate or convention system offers no opportunity "to the ordinary citizen who is hard at work securing a livelihood." What opportunity does the committee system offer to the man who is hard at work to make a living? The man who has to work can no more be a delegate to the State convention that makes nominations than he can be a member of the State committee that would make nominations. If the man hard at work wants to get himself elected to the committee he will find it a harder task than that of being elected to the convention, and he will find it more satisfactory to keep "hard at work" securing a livelihood rather than keeping hard at work trying to beat those who make a business of politics.

The convention system offers no opportunity to the man who has to work hard and "has no time to devote to

the fortunes of those who are seeking to build up an organization for political control," but will the man who has to work hard have time to circulate a petition throughout the state to select the candidate he wants for office? Will he have time and money "to build up an organization for political control?" And under the proposed law, if he does not build up such an organization within his party, what chance has he of having his wishes expressed in the nomination of a candidate? If the man suggested by the committee does not suit the man who has to work hard, what can the laborer do? "Build up an organization for political control," circulate a petition and secure signers to get the name of the man he wants on the primary ballot, and go over the state and point out to the people the superiority of his candidate, and get enough votes for his candidate to beat those who have made a business of politics and who have built up an organization for political control. Oh, it is a cinch for the man who has to work hard for a livelihood; surely the bosses will tremble when they hear of his going out in the cool of the day, after his hard work, to circulate a petition and to build up an organization for political control to defeat them. Yea, they will shake with laughter.

The Governor says: "Who make the party nominations? Not the party, but a few active men whose followers have the discipline of an army."

Under the proposed law, who will make the party nominations? The nomination will be made by "a few active men whose followers have the discipline of an army," or by some individual who appoints himself the Master of the people, circulates his petition for his own nomination or for that of some friend, builds up an organization and defeats those "whose followers have the discipline of an army."

Mr. Hughes says "Not the party" makes the nominations, but a few men. By the party he means the members

of the party as a whole. Indeed they do not make the nominations, and never shall make the party nominations as long as they are quarantined from meeting in parliamentary assemblies to express themselves. But the organization of the disciplined army will make the party nominations, until parties are destroyed. Oh, under the proposed "direct" nominations law the nominations will be made by "the ordinary citizen who is hard at work securing a livelihood." He will make the nominations for his party by securing names to his petition when he is out of work. Ah, a new idea! Let those who are hard at work stay at work, and let those out of work circulate petitions; and if all those out of work begin to circulate petitions, the "few active men whose followers have the discipline of an army" will take to the woods. Whom will the citizen with spare time put on his petition for candidate? Why, somebody out of work, preferably himself, for a man who will go around with a petition to let the voter express his choice ought to have an office.

The Governor says: "And the key to this power is that opportunity to control nominations which is afforded by our present method."

Under the present method voters of the party vote "directly" for delegates at their primaries. These delegates make the nominations or choose other delegates who make the nominations. Now, it is known and admitted by all that a few bosses control nominations. The present method affords such opportunity. The delegates are chosen "directly" by the party voters, but they are controlled by the bosses in some way that the bosses have of getting what they want. Now, what opportunity does the new plan afford? Instead of selecting "directly" 900 delegates who make the nomination, the party voters select at most 150 committeemen "directly", who will suggest candidates for the party voters to approve. A suggestion will be equivalent to a nom-



ination, for what chance does an individual who announces himself as a candidate, stand in opposition to the candidate suggested by the party committee? If the bosses can control the action of 900 delegates can they not much easier control the action of 150 committeemen? The new method affords a better opportunity to control nominations than our present method. But you say under the present law the delegates are picked out by the bosses and the people merely approve the choice! Truly, under the proposed law the committeemen would be picked out by the petitions of the bosses and the voters would merely approve their choice. If I, as the boss, make up a list of the men I want for delegates, and have the voters approve my choice, do I control nominations any more than if I make up a list of committeemen and have the voters approve my choice by signing my petition? The voters will sign my petition without question just as readily as they will go to the "direct" primary now and vote like monkeys for my "delegates". But the voters do not have to approve the suggestion of my committee! No, they may vote directly for the candidate suggested by a petition of somebody. I control the name suggested by the committee the same as I now control the name suggested by the convention. The man who starts a petition for a candidate controls the nomination of that candidate if he is nominated. He controls him, for he makes him. If I get a man nominated by circulating a petition, is it not likely that I will control the nomination? Now, where does control by the people come in? When "I" control the committee instead of the convention, or when "I" circulate a petition and have my man nominated, do "I" control, or do the "people" rule? When we make it *necessary* for one man to circulate a petition to secure the election of a candidate, we make personal, individual control of the candidate a necessity and a certainty. Now it is *possible* for one man to control,



then it will be *necessary* for one to control. Now bossism creeps out as a fungus growth of our system, then it will be the whole tree: now it is an incident, then it will be a definite arrangement established by law. As Speaker Wadsworth says, it will be statutory boss rule.

Governor Hughes says: "The evil is plain enough: the wretched failure of the convention system is obvious enough; and the question is, what shall be done?"

"The answer is: Give the party voters a chance to nominate the candidates; transfer the power in no uncertain way to the party members; make them the final arbiters of party nominations."

The failure is "plain enough." The failure of the proposed "committee" system would be more obvious than the failure of the "Convention System," for a committee responsible to those who circulated the petitions by which they were made committeemen would be as subservient as the convention of delegates chosen by the party voters. There would not be much difference, the men would be the same but their meetings would have different names.

"Give the party voters a chance to nominate the candidates." That is the remedy. But how is it proposed to give the voter a chance to nominate the candidates? He can say "yes" to the names proposed by the "committee", or he can say "yes" to the names proposed by some individual who has been interested enough to circulate a petition throughout the state at his own expense. He can approve the choice of the regular party boss or of some jealous rival party boss, or become a party boss himself if he is able to organize a machine throughout the State. That is the "chance", and the only chance, the Governor proposes to give the party voters.

"Make them (the voters) the final arbiters of party nominations." Make them rather the "initial instigators" instead of the "final arbiters." After the committee has made its

"suggestion", dictated to it by the boss, it is too late for the party voter to act. He must say "yes" to the decision of the committee's boss, or he must do the impossible. He must prepare a petition and defy the machine, and Mr. Hughes says of such action: "Action outside these parties is practically ineffective save as it may voice a protest."

Give the party voters a chance to nominate the candidates by letting the voters meet in parliamentary assemblies where they CAN express their choice of candidates, and then not only the boss of parties but parties themselves shall cease to trouble us.

"The time to end strife is at the beginning." The politicians know this, and it is ended at the beginning for them by not letting the people "meet". The rule will work the other way. Let the people end the strife by meeting at the beginning—at the parliamentary assembly.

The Governor says again: "Under the Hinman-Green bill the party committees have no right to nominate. It is the party voters alone who by their direct vote at the primaries make the nomination. The *choice* lies with them absolutely. Party committees may suggest and the party voters may approve or disapprove as they please. The party voters may themselves directly suggest candidates by petition, and the decision is made at the primary election."

Why is there so much talk about "direct" vote at the primaries? What other kind of votes can be cast at the primaries but "direct"? Perhaps it sounds nice to the "people" to whom the "appeal" is made.

Under this bill the committees do practically nothing. No, the party voters do it all. Did you ever see a battleship launched? The pretty girl who breaks the bottle of wine on the ship's prow does it all. The men who worked for months shaping the great iron ribs did nothing, they merely put it together. They have no right to name the boat. The choice

of the name lies with the girl. She breaks the bottle and says "Missouri", and I would like to have you show me the difference between the girl naming the battleship and the party voters naming the candidate. There is the battleship and there is the work of the committee. Now, what are you going to do, young lady, name the boat or not? What are you going to do, Mr. Voter, say "yes" to the name the committee has proposed or not?

"The choice lies with them absolutely." What "choice" lies with them? Why, the choice between the candidate "suggested" by the committee and nothing. There is no choice. The voter has the prisoner's choice at dinner; there is the "bill of fare" on his tin plate, he can eat that or not, the "choice" lies with him "absolutely".

The voter has the choice of voting for the man suggested by the committee or of going over the State with a petition to get signers to entitle him to have his candidate on the ticket. If he has plenty of time and plenty of money he may be able to have a chance to vote for the man he wants, and the next voter has the same chance.

The committee has no right to nominate, only to suggest. But the suggestion will be equivalent to a nomination. The politicians will be on the committee and will work through the committee. Men who have ambition for public office will look to the committee for a "suggestion", and if they fail to get that, they will not go into the fight with a petition. The petition will be for kickers. The committee will not name a man who will be so obnoxious to the party voters that they will want to take the trouble to propose another candidate by petition. The voters, in fact, will know nothing about most of the candidates proposed by the committee.

Our officers are not actually taken from the state prison, as we may think to listen to some of them talk about the

others. They are mostly men who would rather do right than do wrong, but they would rather be successful than be right. It is not what they are morally but what they do that brings down our criticism. They become spokes in the wheel of the party machine, and they must go round with the wheel. The convention, the committee, the petitioners, will all be "practical men," they will all fit into their places in the machine. The man who thinks we are going to keep the party machine, and yet not have it run by machinists, does not know party history or human nature.

As long as the members of the party cannot meet, they will be governed by a few members of the party who can meet. The state does not provide for the meeting of the mass of the people. The few who are in politics for business can provide means of their own for meeting, they are governing themselves and the people too. The few, here and there, who see the opportunity to secure control of the party will do so; such control will give them opportunities to plunder the people for private gain, and having become used to taking advantage of opportunities, public office is for them a private snap.

But why all this wrangle over the candidates? It is not the men but the way they are nominated that concerns us most. The man who is nominated by the convention is responsible to the convention; the man who is nominated, suggested, by the committee, is responsible to the committee; the man who is nominated by a petition, is responsible to the man who pays for circulating the petition, and none of them are responsible to the people. The suggestion should not come down from the committee to the voters, but should come up from the voters to their delegates or representatives on the committee. At the parliamentary caucus of the people, the people can express themselves; but to ask them to approve or disapprove the "suggestion"



of a committee, is an insult to a man who is conscious of his right to self-government.

*Motive.*

It has been asked by friends of the proposed so-called direct nominations bill why the bosses are opposed to it if it gives them as much control of the party machinery as they now have. That is a good question, and there are some good answers to it. Chairman Woodruff says that he and some others of the so-called bosses have money enough to silence the cry that they want to make money out of politics. They have ambitions as well as those who are called reformers. Mr. Woodruff is a millionaire, and is in politics for about the same reason that Governor Hughes is, and that is that he likes the work. Mr. Woodruff and some others of the same class are honorable men with worthy ambitions, and all do not think alike. The State Chairman feels it an honor to fill that position, and should he not properly object to being cast out of his position to the loss of his honor and pleasant associations, by some other politician who he considers is actuated by no higher motive than himself? Why should Mr. Woodruff listen to Mr. Hughes practically say to him: "You are running this machine like a chump, get away, and let me show you how to run it, I know." If the new plan is no better than the old, no one should want it adopted. And if the new plan would give the bosses more power than the old system, they would not want it adopted and thrust down their throats with the statement that they *must* take it. They are sensitive even if they are bosses. They have personal pride and ambition. They are leaders, and they will not be led if they can lead. If Governor Hughes could be shown that some other man would be a better Governor, would he resign? Hardly.

If the party *committees* are such wonderful geniuses for expressing the will of the people that it is proposed to

give them the power to practically name candidates, why does not the Governor have this proposed law threshed out by the State Committee of his party, the *committee* that under the bill would write the platform and make nominations?

There may be others besides Woodruff who are inconsistent. Instead of counseling with the party committee, the Governor rushes into the limelight with a proposition that they must accept, and then he wonders why they do not approve it. Why does he not practice with them what he says he wants them to practice? Is not a State Convention as good a place to hatch schemes and ambitions as the Executive Chamber at Albany? Mr. Hughes says he wants the members of the party to control the party. Well, they seem to be doing it pretty well, and should he wonder if they object to his doing it when they suspect him of having designs to destroy the party? We may be willing to divide our bread with our brother; but when our half-brother comes along and tells us to give him the whole loaf, it would be human nature to object.

Why does a toad hop? Because he is a hop-toad. When does a toad hop? Did you ever watch a toad? He will sit perfectly still, and then all at once he will hop, quick as a wink. For a time he is as dead. What is the psychological explanation of his sudden electric-like hop?

The law that permitted race track gambling was in force under Governor Morton, there was no hop. It was in force under Governor Black, Governor Roosevelt, Governor Odell, and Governor Higgins, and no hop. It was in force the first year of Governor Hughes' administration, and *still* no hop. The Constitution was all right. Mr. Hughes was nominated for Governor, and the Constitution was all right. In the exciting campaign of 1906, the Constitution was all right. BUT last year it was time to hop. Then the Constitu-

tion was in the gutter. The legislature had to be called for a special session, a special election had to be called to furnish an extra vote for his side. The bill passed last year was all right. But it would have been all right the year before or any year before. Why that suddenness?

We have been going along with conventions nominating governors, even Governor Hughes was nominated by a convention. That was all right. Last year even a convention was all right, but now, just *now*, s-p-l-a-s-h, the Governor goes into the politician's pan of fresh milk. Now, *just now*, the convention is all wrong. Now, just now, we must have a "committee" instead of a "convention". It is only a change in name. We will have the same men on the committees that we have in the convention, and their motives will be the same, but it will be the "committee" instead of the "convention", therefore hop.

Let us hope in jumping into the politicians' pan of milk he shall not be overcome with the cream, but that like the frog put with the water into the can of milk, he may kick and keep on kicking, till the cream is churned into butter, and he sits on top of the roll of butter in the can, while the politicians drink off the "skimmed" milk. And this roll of butter will be labeled "Parliamentary Assemblies of all the People."

The so-called direct nominations bill is simply a disturber to the politicians. It attracts the attention of the people to the method of the party, and that is bad, very bad. The politicians have plenty of power now, and a new system, even if it should give them more power, would not be wise for them to approve, for it would make the people think. Attention to party method is the entering wedge that will split the party tree, and *that* is the reason the politicians do not want the "Direct" nominations bill.

As to the merits of the bill, if it were proposed by a leading politician, or by the State Committee, it would be denounced without mercy, but when it comes in the dress of "reform" it comes into the fold as the wolf in sheep's clothing, and that is the objection true reformers have to the bill. It pretends to be what it is not, it says it will do what it cannot do. If the politicians were truly wise in this matter they would accept the bill, grudgingly and with wry faces, and then laugh up their sleeves. Such a course would fool the people richly. They would think they had secured the panacea for their ills, and would be willing to let the "committee" manage their affairs for years to come. They would be sent to sleep by the sweet smelling incense of "direct nominations". Yea, they would slumber.

We do not want the people to be hypnotized with the word "direct" printed over the word "machine" *on* the machine. And that is our motive for distrusting a bill that may give a little temporary relief. We want the disease cured, we want the serpent destroyed instead of baptized with a new name and the same nature.



## CHAPTER XV.

## GOVERNMENT BY PETITION.

*How It Will Work.*

A man comes around with a petition for me to sign to nominate certain men. Shall I sign it? I don't know who else will be around with other petitions, and cannot tell which one I will want to sign. Shall I sign the first one? How can I tell whether any one else will start a petition? What shall I do if I like some of the men proposed and not the others? Shall I start out with a petition myself?

In the parliamentary assembly I can get up and nominate my candidates, and ask those people present to sign my petition. Others can do likewise. All those who want to present petitions can do so without trouble. Then I will know what petitions can be signed and will know which one I want to sign. The people by informal ballot can designate what names they want on their petition. They can make up a list from the names presented by all the petitioners, or nominations, that will be different from any one of the lists. No man will be put to expense. Each one will be acting intelligently in the light of day. There will be no buttonholing and bribing to sign petitions.

Government by petition! Let us pray. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

We pray to some authority higher than ourselves for favors.

We do not petition for our rights, we demand them.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States says Congress shall make no law abridging "the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

It is inferred from this that the people have a natural "right" to assemble in order to prepare their petition, for

how could they get up a petition without assembling? Let the people pray, but let them agree in their prayers or their political "Gods" will not be able to understand their prayers.

The Constitution "guarantees" the right of the people to assemble to petition. Should it not *secure* the right of the people to assemble to petition? It is now proposed to make the people get into parties and petition for what they want, and not let them assemble to prepare their petitions, but make each one go over the country at his own expense with pen and ink in hand and get the signatures of those who agree with him.

*Assemble.*

"Congress shall assemble once in every year, etc." Each State legislature assembles. Every city council, board of county supervisors, every body of men that has any action to take, assembles. It is natural, it is the only way the people composing the societies can act. The parts together make the whole. The most learned court, the United States Supreme Court, consisting of only nine men must get together to come to a decision on any question; but the dear people, some of whom cannot read, can come to a conclusion on any question without any consultation whatever. They can just go into the voting booth, say nothing, and vote on the same proposition or for the same candidate that several hundred thousand others are going to vote for. It has sometimes taken the legislature of the State of New York several days to agree on a United States Senator, but the people of the whole State are supposed to be able to agree on a man for Governor by simply going into a booth one by one and casting a ballot. Is it not marvelous?

How natural is the proposition we make! Every body of people who have a common object meet if there are not too many of them. When there are too many to eat at one table we have two tables. Now, when there are too many people

to meet, let us divide them into groups, into classes, and let the groups or classes meet. We can add, and so we can count up the votes of all the people when they meet in little assemblies just as if they all met in one large assembly. How could the framers have overlooked this simple plan?

*Nomination by Petition.*

It is proposed to have the party committee chosen by petition. The men that are now the organization would be interested in maintaining their hold. They have the office details in their hands, and it would be an easy matter for them to circulate petitions and have themselves chosen. They are in office and are feeding at the public crib. But what can the people outside do? They cannot circulate petitions successfully against the machine. The people have their own business to attend to. They have no direct personal interest in who shall be on the committee, and they will not put themselves to great expense and trouble for something that does not benefit them. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." The choice of the committee is the "business" of the committee. Those interested in maintaining the organization for graft will circulate the petition. The other people cannot afford to do so. What concern is it to you who is on the committee? If you want anything to say about who shall be on the committee, you must circulate a petition at great expense; and so every one else who wishes to express himself must start out with a petition. Each one must be a little "party" by himself, working against the established party, which the law puts us under and makes us subservient to. We must bow to the will of the party leaders, or go to all the trouble that the law can map out for us. The parties are organized. Instead of the State organizing the people to act, it proposes to disorganize them, to make them act individually, and thus actually prevent their organization. Under such law the rule of the parties will be absolute.

*Right to Petition.*

The State Constitution guarantees the right of the people to assemble and petition the government, but their petition need not be heard. They can ask for a fish and be given a stone. Now let their prayers be answered, if they ask for a loaf give them a loaf. The direct primary law that proposes to make the people nominate their party committeemen by petition, should let the people nominate committeemen in the same way and should let them meet to prepare their petitions, for it is only by meeting that they can do so. The politicians have their meetings and prepare their petitions, and it is necessary that the people have the same opportunity.

If we must petition the government, shall we not have the right to assemble to do it. We pay the parties for holding their primaries and preparing their petitions. Shall we not pay the people for holding their assemblies? We do actually pay the parties for conducting their primaries, and President Roosevelt in a message to Congress asked that they pay national campaign expenses. If we do not want to vote for the men whom the parties nominate, we must nominate candidates by securing a certain number of petitioners. Who is going to the expense of circulating petitions to get a candidate, knowing beforehand that there is no chance of his election? If the people rule they must pay for it, but the politicians are paid for ruling the people. If we have to beat the "machine" by circulating petitions, ruling will be expensive business for us. There will always be enough interest on the part of political leaders to induce them to circulate petitions. In the last campaign the Republican National Committee spent over \$1,500,000, and if they have that much money to spend it is absolutely certain that they are going to have their machine oiled "right".



They will circulate petitions for committeemen that they can depend on to help spend that money and to collect more. The more money it takes to run the machine, the more the machine must make out of the people, so Mr. Roosevelt's proposition to pay the parties outright and be done with it may be wise. Instead of letting the politicians put their hands into the treasury, and take out the money, let us open the door and tell them to help themselves; they will be honest then.

But the people have not enough interest in the election to circulate a petition. If I pay one hundred dollars tax that I ought not to pay, it is cheaper to keep on paying the tax than it is to go all over the State of New York with a petition. But it may be said others are paying that tax and they can help me circulate the petition. That is the argument. They *could* help me circulate it if we could work together, if we could meet at a public meeting, if we could have a parliamentary assembly. Only the men who have an interest in the election will circulate petitions, and only those who have a good prospect of getting something out of the election can afford to circulate them. The politicians can afford to prepare petitions, because they can filch their pay out of the treasury, but how is an honest man to circulate a petition? Government by petition is despotism, and those who propose such government are despots or they have not sufficiently considered the matter.

Why is it that the best men are not in politics, that our officers are mostly bad men. Good men cannot get into politics, unless they have the pass word, and that they can only get by giving up their self-respect. "Graft" is the word that one repeats to the other. It is their guide into office and while they are in office. The man who cannot graft is a poor workman in the politician's orchard. If an honest man gets into office he is soon converted or else he is held up as

a wonder and made much of to deceive the people and make them think that the politicians are really putting honest men in office. Good men are not chosen for office, because good men do not choose them. The fruit is like the tree from which it comes. If only those who have selfish interests to conserve pick out our officers, our officers will be well instructed in selfish interests. If our candidates are nominated in the back room of a saloon, we need not think they are going to close the side door. Because there are so many incompetent and dishonest public men, many young men are deterred from entering the public service, they feel that they are getting into bad company. The same feeling of self-respect that keeps men out of saloons and dives keeps them out of caucuses and out of public office. If the caucuses were made respectable, if the people could meet to express themselves as to their government, it would seem that these assemblies would be attended by the best class of citizens. There are no meetings held that would be so inviting. Some good people go to church, but all good people would go to these meetings. Now, if we want to get good men into the government service, we must get good men into the caucuses, and we must get them there by letting the people at the caucus have the chance to express themselves.

### *Shall the People Rule?*

"Vox populi, Vox Dei". The voice of the people is the voice of God, but if the voice of the people is not heard, then God speaketh not.

Shall the people rule? Shall trees grow? What is there higher than man, who has dominion over all things? The people do rule of course.

In Russia *some* of the people rule. *The* people rule, but who are *the* people? What is the difference between Russia and the United States?

Assuming that all men are created to take part in their government, we may ask "Shall they take their part, or shall their part be taken by someone else or by some other agency?" All men are created equal in their right to self-government. Shall they all exercise their right?

The king says "I am the State." Shall it be said "We are the State?"

We are told that this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. We are also told that political parties are necessary. When we see what parties do and have done, we see, if they are necessary, they are necessary evils.

It used to be necessary to have kings and nobles, now it is necessary to have parties. *When* shall the people rule? Our Constitutions, State and National, and our laws say "We, the people of the United States, or the State of New York, etc., do, etc." Shall we write in place of "the people" the words "the parties"?

It is proposed to change our laws so that the parties shall rule, so that if the people want to appear to be ruling, they must get into a party. Shall the rule of the parties be made absolute, or shall the government be entrusted to the hands of the people?

If something is necessary to rule the people, then the people cannot and do not rule. But whatever is, is necessary, till it is destroyed. Parties must be destroyed, then the people shall rule. They shall begin to rule by destroying parties, or they shall begin to be ruled by being driven into the cage of parties.

The people can rule. A boy can eat an orange, if he can get it.

Party is the monster that stands at the entrance to the temple of government and swallows the people as they approach. Let the people advance, it is their privilege. Let

all avenues of approach be closed. Open the gate of "direct nominations" and "direct primaries", direct into the cavernous maw of "party", and let the people come forward, and after being digested and absorbed into the sinew of the dragon, "political organization", they shall rule.

Direct primaries! The only thing direct about them is the way in which the boss or committee tells the voters what delegates or candidates to vote for. The word comes "direct" and the people follow the word, and the word is made law and it is the law, thus saith the law.

Direct nominations! The nominations are made by the committee, and then the people are "directed" to choose the candidates named or to go out at their own expense and make up a slate and beat the organization at their own game, if possible. It is a direct insult to the intelligence of the people.

If the people are to rule, the voice must come up from the people and not be directed downward from the boss or committee. The people can express themselves only face to face in actual meetings of the people. Let all the people of a small district meet as a parliamentary body, and let them express their choice of delegates, candidates and principles. This parliamentary assembly of the people is the primary thing, the only way in which the people can give direct expression to their wishes. Instead of the dragon of party at the entrance to the temple of state, we shall have the people assembled in the temple, and then the voice of the people will be the voice of God.

What is the constitution of society? What are the principles that hold it together, that make up society, what are the rules by which it is governed? We can see nothing above man, except himself and God. There is no exterior force, and the rules and principles by which men are governed, are found within themselves. People are gregarious,



they love company. If this were not so, there would be no permanent state. State is family written large. Besides the state, there are many clubs, societies, associations, organizations, parties, churches, meetings, etc. All these show the desire of the people for social life, for co-operation. They show the desire of the people to meet together face to face and not through delegates. People come together in little bands and get acquainted, and their acquaintance consists of getting and giving opinions, ideas and sentiments. In a face to face meeting there is a mingling of ideas, a common market place where ideas are exchanged, a school in which we both learn and teach, a contest where we acquire skill and compare our strength. Society is concrete and not abstract. If we pick out our best men in the community by sitting down in a chair and thinking, we bring them together in our mind, we assemble them before our mind's eye, and there from the assembly we make our choice. The principle that men must act together in assemblies seems too fundamental, too primary to even admit of argument. It is simply natural. We have grown up that way and will continue to grow in that way. When a candidate is picked out for us we have nothing to do with the matter, but if we could be back of the screen, we would see an assembly of people. We would see the leaders get together, and the decision of the committee or boss is the result of their combined ideas.

To make a party frame-work, or a frame-work of government, and leave actual assemblies of the people out of the plan, is like baking a pudding without the plums, like giving a concert to an empty house, like locking the door after the horse has been stolen. Newspapers and books inform the mind, but these papers and books tells us of what the people have done in assemblies and meetings. Somebody has been suggested for alderman in the seventh ward.

Ah, this suggestion did not come up like a mushroom out of the ground in a night. A few people compare notes, give and take ideas, and the suggestion is born out of their experience. It is the contact of mind with mind that fills the world with suggestions.

We cannot get acquainted with people by sitting in a corner or dreaming over a book. We must meet them face to face, know their names, get their ideas and give them ours.

The idea of the people voting by ballot, without previous consultation with other people, for a candidate for office in a community larger than an election district, is simply preposterous. Each voter could as successfully sit down and write out the name of the governor of the moon. Suppose a club of one-hundred men want to hire a bookkeeper, how would they do it? Let each member sit down and write out a name of a man he considers suitable. What would be the result? When we come to choosing men for office, there are so many men that might be chosen that it is impossible to make any headway, unless we have a few names suggested to us out of the many possible names. This suggesting must be done when people meet face to face.

Mr. Jones wants to hire a stenographer. There are one-hundred in the city that he can hire. Now, does he sit down in his chair and say "I will hire Miss Blank." No, he writes out an advertisement, inserts it in the paper and gets perhaps fifty answers. These fifty are candidates for the office. He assembles them in his mind, they look real to him and he picks out the one that comes nearest to his ideal. He could not have picked out one without having them before him, in their letters. How much harder would it be for him to pick out a governor than a stenographer, and he could pick out a governor only in a similar way. He must first

know what men want to be governor, and their qualifications, and how can he do this without talking with other men?

My ward has two thousand voters. We will say one party has one-thousand members entitled to vote at the primary. The ward committee makes up a list of delegates. The city or county pays for printing the list and all expenses connected with this election. The members of that party walk into the ballot place, on each side of which is a card stating in effect that no talking is allowed within 150 ft. of the polling place. There is the printed list lying on a table, there is a box and there are the inspectors and watchers, watchers to see that the people do not talk. The voter cannot talk, he walks into the place, picks up the paper on which the names of the delegates are written, puts the paper into the box. What a farce. Did he read the names before he "voted" the paper? No, what would have been the difference? Does he want those men for delegates? He does not even know most of them. But he thinks some of them are rogues. What can he do? Oh, he can refuse to vote for them, to be sure. He can mark their names off the list, or he can make up a list that he thinks is better, go out through the ward and get a certain number of men to agree with him that his list is better, have his list printed, at his own expense, and then get enough more men to agree with him that his list is the best to receive more votes than the candidates of the organization. And while he is doing this, let every other man who does not like the list made out by the committee, go out and do likewise. What a ridiculous farce.

But what is the use of wasting the people's time? Let the committee pick out the candidates for the delegates, print the ballots, and then deposit in the box as many as there are voters in the party, and call that the result, and if any kicker is dissatisfied with the decision, let him make an affidavit before a notary public that he did not want his ballot cast. That would make proceedings more direct.

If the people are not to rule, they are to give their approval to the acts of their rulers, and it must be made as hard as possible for them to express any disapproval. They are not to govern, they are to give their consent to be governed. The voice of the people is the voice of God to be sure, but the bosses are the "prophets of God", who move "mysteriously" their wonders to perform.





## CHAPTER XVI.

## SCHOOL HOUSE ASSEMBLIES.

*Public Opinion Enlightened.*

Washington said "In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened."

The structure of our government is public opinion, it is the force of public opinion. Our election machinery should be a device for ascertaining public opinion. What better place for this is there than public schoolhouses? They belong to the state or community. They give instruction to the children, there, too, the voters may receive information, express their opinions, and be informed by the State of what has been done and is to be done. The State takes no thought of the instruction of the people as to their government. Let it educate them at the schoolhouse, let them there assemble to educate one another under the regulation of the State. There they can become acquainted with men and measures, there they can give intelligent expression to their wishes. That will be the true primary—the primary where education will be gained and where wishes will be expressed. Public opinion will be enlightened, it will grow. The genius of the American people will take another form and develop into the full-grown plant of self-government, with blossom and fruit. Out of the schoolhouse will come the voice of the genius of the people. We surpass the world in whatever we have undertaken and have had an opportunity of doing. With the opportunity of actual self-government will come the development of public opinion, a development in the process of government that will demonstrate our superiority and capacity. We have been a hundred years getting ready for this blossoming time. We have gathered the strength of experience, and now we shall bloom forth the flowering tree that will restore the Garden of Eden on earth.

The force that governs us is the opinion of some of the people. This opinion is formed not in the closet of the statesman, but in actual assemblies of the people, where they talk face to face. We propose such meetings instead of the present caucus. But what a contrast in the place of meeting and the character of the business done. Instead of the beer sign over the door, shall wave the flag of the United States and of the State of New York, beckoning us ever higher. Instead of the license to sell the fire water that makes us fools, we will display the charter of self-government which makes us free. We will draw from the fountain of knowledge instead of from the barrel of whiskey. The voice of the people soberly discussing their welfare and happiness will take the place of the clink of the wine glass and the shouts of drunken merriment. The passion of depravity will give place to the passion for individual and social development. The voice of the people will be the voice of God, not the voice of grog.

At these meetings, the people would express themselves on public questions, and the officers would be bound by their instructions. One meeting could be held to initiate propositions and another to pass upon them. At these meetings, the people could express themselves for an officer, and such expression would be binding upon the delegates elected at the meeting.

What questions can the people discuss at their school-house meetings? What questions will come to their minds? What progress will they be able to make with such questions? They will form a little republic. They will be the State in miniature, and on a small scale will meet the same problems that will confront the law-makers at the State and National capitols. First they will be interested in the education of their children, and that will open up a great many questions of public education—new schoolhouses, school fur-

niture, teachers, free text books, etc. The relation of the State to the school district, to the parent and to the child will all be great questions. Some of them will clearly be within the intelligence and experience of the people. Some of the questions will be beyond their mental grasp or experience, but such questions will give rise to impulses that will be felt by the few that can understand them and will be stimulants to the real leaders of society. There will be suggestions which will be acted upon by those who do have the ability. Questions will come up that now are never thought of. There is much to be done in the educational line, and these suggestions as to what to do will come up from the people in these little meetings. Shall there be separate schools for white and colored children, for natives and foreigners, for boys and girls? Shall the pupils be taught trades, business, Latin and Greek?

The people will want to know how the government is run, what the officers of the State are doing, and questions will come up as to whether the State should let the people know what the State is doing. How shall they get their information—through newspapers or through channels to be provided by the State? Newspapers supply the want, but they supply it poorly. The State should do something in the way of letting the people know what it does.

If the State is run by public opinion, the State must give public opinion something to feed upon and not let it run wild or be fed upon the husks of selfish partisan papers. The State must provide for its maintenance, and its maintenance rests upon the intelligence and information of the people. The people must think, and they must have something to think about. The questions suggested by the schoolhouse itself are the great questions of government today. When the questions are too deep for ordinary intelligence the people will carry the questions to their repre-



sentatives, to the higher court of the people. The representatives will not be removed from the people, but will be in touch with them, striving to meet their wishes and answer their questions and their needs. The lower cases will be settled by the people in their own court, those questions that are beyond their intellectual jurisdiction, they will carry to their higher courts, just as they take their cases in law now. This system will raise up great teachers of the people out of the midst of the people. We will all be students of government, and whatever genius the American people possess, will be called forth by the system. The flag of authority will wave over each schoolhouse, and the voice of the people's authority will come out of these little school meetings.

The people will walk upon their roads, and questions of improved roads will come up, and these local questions will lead to State roads, State waterways, canals, etc. They will have diseases, and questions of quarantine will arise. They will settle disputes, and questions of State and National arbitration will be discussed. Means will be suggested for settling disputes between employers and employees, if indeed there shall continue to be any such disputes. The peace will have to be kept by the constable, and questions of State and National defense will be suggested. The people will see the waste of their own resources, and the question of the conservation of State and National resources will receive their proper attention. There will be those unemployed and vainly looking for work, and the vital question of the rights and duties of men in society will receive proper attention. If I must keep my neighbor, I may ask, "Am I my neighbor's keeper," or "What have I done that my neighbor must have a keeper and not be able to keep himself, by whom has he been robbed?" Injustice will be seen and felt by the people at close quarters, and the questions will come up



from the people and they will be answered. Shall the people rule? Give them the chance and nothing can restrain them. The people will grow and develop under the most favorable circumstances, and their government will be a part of their growth. We have advanced in everything but government, which has lagged behind. It should be far in the lead as it is of the most importance. Under proper conditions, it will be in the lead. Government must be put on the same foundation as education and business, the people must meet one another face to face to bring out what is in their nature. The schoolhouse with the parliamentary assembly is the incubator where the symbolical eagle of the American government must feather its brood.

*Assemblies of the People.*

President Roosevelt appointed a Country Life Commission, the object of which was to interest people living in the country in a discussion of their condition, and to find means of improving life in the country.

In a letter to the chairman of that committee the President said, "It seems to me, therefore, that it would be wise to try to get into the closest possible touch with the farmers of the country, and to find out from them, so far as you are able, just what they regard as being the subjects with which it is most important that you should deal . . . I accordingly suggest that you ask the farmers to come together in the several school districts of the country so that they may meet and consider these matters. I suggest the school districts because the school-house would be the natural and proper place for such a meeting; or they could meet at other customary or convenient places. . . . You are simply trying to ascertain what are the general economic, social, educational, and sanitary conditions of the open country, and what, if anything, the farmers themselves can do to help

themselves, and how the government can help them. To this end your especial desire is to get in touch with and represent the farmers themselves."

The chairman in reply to the President said: "The commission gladly welcomes your suggestion that all country people come together to consider these great questions, and hereby requests all persons who are specially interested in the welfare of the open country to meet in their usual gathering places on or before December 5th to consider the subject you suggest, or any of the questions on which the commission is making inquiries.

"Copies of the questions may be secured by writing to the Commission on Country Life, Washington, D. C. The commission desires, that, so far as possible, a general summary or estimate of the discussions in all the meeting places be promptly sent to its office in Washington, so that it may have the benefit of all suggestions in preparing its reports."

This is a new departure in our government. If the people in the country are interested in discussing their social, economic, and political conditions, it is important that they have an opportunity to do so and the President's efforts to enable them to do so are praiseworthy. If the lawmakers are to know what the people desire and what is for their good, they must know the condition of the people. The conditions are best known by the people themselves, and if the people can hold meetings in their school-houses or other convenient places and talk face to face over the conditions which confront them, they will be able to give their lawmakers the information they most need. These people in their little meetings can make certain laws for themselves, and where it is not in their jurisdiction to make laws, they can express their desire for higher laws to a higher authority.

Such assemblies as these, remind one of the meetings of the Anglo-Saxons, which we have already mentioned. It

also bears out the argument that the people are able to meet together in small groups, discuss their conditions and needs, and express their wishes as to what is for their good. They would be able to pick out in such meetings their best citizens to represent them, in a meeting which should consider the needs of a larger section of territory. Such assemblies are just the kind that were contemplated when the government was organized. It was such assemblies that chose our first President, it is such assemblies that we now propose to institute in order to know what the wishes of the people are, and to let the people pick out men who will properly carry out their wishes.

### *Use of School Houses.*

Within the last two years there have sprung up in Rochester a number of civic clubs, which hold meetings in the public schoolhouses, for the discussion of political and social questions by people without regard to party. It has seemed fitting to let these buildings which belong to the city be used by the people in the city for their education, as well as that of their children. Here we find the people assembled giving intelligent consideration to public questions. The conclusions to which they come are to their credit, for they are not blinded with the dust of party. At one of the meetings Governor Hughes was entertained, and he spoke to an assemblage of these clubs. These are true parliamentary assemblies of the people. They give expression to the real sentiment and ability of the people. They are not an outlet for party spirit. If such assemblies are beneficial to Rochester would they not be beneficial for the whole country?

The school-houses of other cities and of the country districts are as appropriate for such meetings as are the school-houses of Rochester. The use of the public school-houses for such purposes is an innovation, but it is one of the most hopeful signs of the day. These little meetings may be made

the buds to be grafted on the political tree of actual government by the people. Let us have all the people meet in the school-houses, churches or other suitable places to there express themselves as the people have done at these meetings.

In every college we have what are called "chairs" for different departments of learning. Let there be a chair of good citizenship, of good government in every schoolhouse. There will the people assemble and fill this chair. The speaker of these little assemblies shall have more power than the speaker of the House of Representatives who now is a real king. Congress shall be in the school-houses, and the Washington Government shall hear the voice of the people and carry out their will. Washington shall be the nerve center of the nation. The sentiments of the people will originate at these extremities, at the assemblies, and shall be carried through nerve and nerve centers to the head at Washington.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## PARTIES AND THE STATE.

*Theory of Parties.*

I give some quotations from Governor Hughes :

"The party voters have the right to say who shall be the party candidates." Certainly, but what business is it to the State whether the members of a party have their rights within the party or not? The rights of the members of the party are subjects for the party to determine and have nothing whatever to do with the State any more than the question whether the members of a ball team get their rights in the team.

What is a party that the State takes notice of its members? It is an organization of men to elect some officers or to get some law passed. Now, what concern is it of the State how such an organization is managed? One man can pick out candidates, and that may be the way the members of the party want them picked out. Have not the people the right to have a monarchy party if they want to? What right has the State to say how a private society shall be managed, so long as it obeys the laws? The State has just as much right to prescribe the rules for playing cards. What right has the State to say how W. R. Hearst shall run his Independence League? It was incorporated, and the board of directors have the right to manage it just the same as if it were a Railroad. And that is the point. We are recognizing the parties as corporations entitled to name candidates for whom the people may vote, for whom the people must vote. We put the people in parties and say how the parties are to be managed, we say how the parties shall nominate candidates who are to be officers. We, the State government, take an organization, a corporation, and say it shall pick out our officers. The men in office might as justly in-

corporate the Hudson Bay Ice Co. to select the officers for the State of New York.

This would be despotic. The State should provide how the people can nominate and vote for men for office, but it has no right to recognize parties, to let them have anything to say about election. What more has a man in a party to say about the government than a man outside of a party?

A party may be made, owned, and run by an individual for some special purpose, and the State makes the people subordinate to such a party.

"We aim to secure better representative government, and in particular to achieve representative party government." That is the point again. We are going to make this a government of party, by party and for party. It is not only representative, but representative party government.

"Party voters are interested in candidates, not delegates." How are they to get candidates but through delegates or committeemen? They are not interested in delegates, but the delegates or committeemen are to name the candidates. Yes. If the delegates don't name suitable candidates, some disinterested individual can go out and get six thousand petitioners to sign a petition to have some other candidate, and then get enough men to vote for his candidate to win. Sure!

"It does not apply to town, village and school district officers, as it has been deemed best not to deal with these minor officers." These minor offices are just the ones that the people can fill intelligently and without delegates. It is in such cases that direct nominations are possible, but, "It has been deemed best not to deal with these minor offices."

"It does not apply to Presidential Electors, as these are mere figure-heads, and when the candidates for President and Vice-President have been chosen at National conven-

tions the selection of the electors may be left to the party authorities."

The Presidential Electors have become "mere figure-heads" through the usurpation of parties, and now we are to pass a law to make them "mere figure-heads" and let them be selected by the "party authorities" as they see fit. The choice of President is to be turned over to party organizations at National conventions and no questions asked. One man may control the party organization and yet the people must vote for the electors the party picks out. We shall indeed have the "King Maker".

"Now it is *futile* and *undesirable* to attempt to destroy parties. It is inevitable that parties will continue, and party organization is essential."

Those who would destroy parties are "undesirable citizens." However undesirable, the parties *must be destroyed*.

"Those who in attempting to perfect any system which has such a close relation to the public welfare as the method of party nominations, ignore the necessity and continuance of party organization, and like the ostrich bury their heads in the sand."

Those who ignore the necessity of "party" organization bury their heads in the sand! No, they are trying to get the heads of the reformers out of the sand, or they are rather trying to get the sand out of the reformers' heads. Those who think we must have party organizations to control the people instead of organizing the people to act themselves, are the ones who stick their heads into the sand or throw dust into their own eyes.

"Under the plan proposed the leaders may suggest a candidate, but the party voters have a chance within the party on primary day to say whether or not he shall be chosen to represent the party as the party nominee."

The machine can control the committee, the machine *will be* the committee. The committee will suggest the candidate, and then what can the voters do? They can say whether he shall be the nominee, but if they are opposed to him, how shall they organize their opposition? How are they going to unite on a candidate when they cannot talk at the polls? Oh, some one can go out with a petition, some one who has nothing to do can go over a county or the whole State and easily get any number of signers, and then if anybody else wants some other candidate, why, he can go out with a petition too!

### *Parties and the Constitution.*

The Constitution authorizes government by the people, but it does not make any provision for such government. It has given us the bill of fare without the dinner. Parties have grown up to do what the Constitution and laws have failed to make provisions for, and parties are necessary to do this until the laws shall remedy the defect.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, political parties have no existence. A party is a private affair, and has no more standing under the Constitution, and should have no more standing under the laws, than any club or organization of people for any purpose whatever. When the laws grant the members of a party any more privileges than they do to any other citizens, it is unfair and unjust. It is unconstitutional. What right has the State to permit two or more political parties to say who shall be our officers? Governor Hughes says: "With exceptions almost negligible, the people are divided into two great parties. Action outside these parties is practically ineffective save as it may voice a protest. From one or the other of these parties come our officers of government."



Parties *do* select our officers, and outside of these parties the people can *do nothing*. This is the condition that confronts us. This is the disease that affects us. Now, shall we say this condition and this disease *are necessary*, that they shall be made permanent? Shall we say that parties, having become our masters through defects in our laws, shall now be made our legal masters *by means of the law*? Shall their robbery of the people be declared a virtue?

Mr. Hughes says: "We propose to emancipate the party voters and give them a fair chance to run their own affairs." What business is it of the State how the voters of a party run their affairs? Do the affairs of a private organization become the affairs of the State?

But the plain fact is, we are helpless in the grasp of the party giant. Our statesmen do not or will not see that the people can rule themselves. They can see the parties and feel their pull, and they cannot think of getting along without their masters. Instead of dealing with the people directly in electing their officers, these statesmen propose to deal with the people through parties, they do not permit the people to rule but compel them to be ruled through parties. They propose to make the parties supreme, and tell the people how they must act under their party government. They actually make the parties take the place of the State. Instead of making provision for the expression of the will of the people, it is proposed to deny the right of the people to express themselves and to give parties the exclusive right to direct the affairs of the government. Shall the people rule or shall the parties rule? We have recognized theoretically the right of the people to govern themselves although we never enabled them to do so. Now we propose to recognize only the right of the parties to govern the people, and to prescribe the rules by which the parties shall rule the people. The parties will become the royal families, and the people who do not belong

to these families are outcasts and without any voice in the State.

When the State says that I may vote for certain men and not for any man I wish, it denies my right to vote; and if it denies the right of one, it is as wrong as to deny the right of all. If I have a right to vote, the State has no right to say whom I shall vote for, it has no right to limit my choice to the candidates picked out by two political bosses.\*

The State passes laws requiring certain officers to believe in the principles of one or the other of these two great political parties, that is the test of eligibility. It does this when it establishes bi-partisan boards. It has as much right to say that they shall believe in the doctrine of certain churches to be eligible to office. Unless a man believes in one or the other of these parties he can take no effective part in the election. When our thoughts keep us out of office and prevent us from exercising our rights of voting, are we in a free country? Are we not going back to the dark ages when a man's belief might cost him his life? Then the State went into partnership with the church organizations. Now our statesmen propose to have the State go into partnership with political parties. We have succeeded in separating the church from the State. Shall we be able to keep the State out of the clutches of political parties? In the dark ages it was thought necessary to have the church regulated by the State as a necessary part of the State. Now our leaders are declaring that party organizations are a necessary part of the State, that the people must be brought into these parties in order to exercise their right to vote. We were dominated by religious parties, by church organizations; then we were controlled by royalty; and now we are to be turned over to the care of political parties. God, through his representatives on earth, was the State. The King, acting by divine right, was the State; and now parties, through acts of our legisla-

tors, shall be the State. Indeed, it is time to ask, Shall the people rule? When?

Has the nominee of a party any more right, any higher right before the election law, than any individual who is a candidate for any office?

Public office is a party trust. Trusts destroy competition in business, they destroy individual activity. Instead of the individual being the unit of industrial activity, it is the trust that is the unit. Parties are trust organizations for the distribution of public offices. We have a secret trust for a certain purpose. The powers of government must be placed in the hands of certain officers, and parties are the corporations for picking out the men for the offices. The State incorporates the trusts. It is now proposed to incorporate the parties as the artificial persons through whom all the people must act. The individual is melted into the party. Independent political action will be as impossible as it is now impossible for a man without money to build a railroad or run a large factory. The laboring man must work for the trust, the voters must belong to the parties. Through "necessity" one masters the other. Shall the people rule? Shall the laborers rule? What are trusts for? To rule the people industrially. What are parties for? To rule the people politically. Are they necessary? Yes, until the people become the State and rule themselves. Parties *or the State* must be destroyed.

### *What is the State?*

Organization is the State. Whatever power of governing is organized, is the State. It may be King, Party, or People. All people possess the power of government. We recognize the fact that we have that power, but to say that the people *have* the power is not to say that the people can use the power. They must use or operate their power



*through* a machine, through an organization. Some power will be used. A King may appear. Party rulers may exercise the power over the people by making themselves the centers of organizations. They and their followers get the consent of the people, which constitutes the organization. Parties may come in and organize the people. The Constitution provides for certain officers and says the people shall choose them, but does not provide a way for the people to do so. Men want the offices and the power the offices give them. They organize a band or party to get these offices. It is true that some such party must be organized to get the offices, and that is why parties are necessary. The grass is there to be eaten. The cow cannot get to it because there is a fence—organization—around it. The elephant and mule are able to jump the fence through organizing and they eat the grass. We cannot take down the fence, but we must give the people an official organization so that they can enter and eat. An organization is necessary.

Shall it be the people organized under the State, as the State, or shall it be parties—pirates—who organize themselves for plunder and profit? Shall the people rule by organizing themselves, or shall they be ruled by parties who organize themselves *for* ruling the people. The organization is the State. Shall the State be the people, or shall it be the parties. From "The parties are the State" to "I am the State," is but a step, the step of a party leader, of which Washington warned us. Shall we take it? Shall we rather not retrace the first step we have taken, by destroying parties altogether. Parties have taken the place of the people. We cannot put the people in power without destroying the parties.

A house was built for the people to enjoy. Some tramps came along, and finding it empty entered. Now, the people want to enjoy the house. Mr. Hughes proposes to give the tramps a lease of the house. It is necessary to have some one in the house to take care of it. The tramps are there. Must we give them a deed of the house. We propose to drive out the tramps and let the people enter their own house prepared for them by those who followed the "Father of His Country."



CHAPTER XVIII.  
SAVING THE CONSTITUTION.*By Parties.*

Governor Hughes says: "When last year it was sought to make the law of the State correspond with the mandate of the Constitution, etc." This year do we ask to make the law of the State correspond with the mandate of the Constitution?

The first article of the Constitution says: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers."

Article two says: "Every male citizen of the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to vote, for all officers that are now or hereafter may be elective by the people."

Let us change the Constitution to read: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised if he belongs to a political party, and every male citizen shall be entitled to vote only for candidates for office nominated by political parties." Or else let us follow the "mandate" of the Constitution and enable the people to vote for all officers, and "vote" means to express a choice for. The most important officers for whom we can vote are Presidential Electors, and as to these Mr. Hughes says it is not worth while considering their nomination, let the parties nominate them, for they are "mere figure-heads."

If I belong to a party I can give my consent to have certain men made officers, but I cannot "vote". I can vote where I can express my wishes, and that the election laws and the proposed election laws make it impossible for me to do. Men can "vote" only when they "meet". All the people who actually vote, do meet. We may drop pieces of paper into a box or pull a lever that registers our consent to what has been done, but it does not register our "vote".

To vote means to express a wish for. To be compelled to choose between two evils is not exactly to have one's wish. We must be able to vote for whom we want if we express our wishes. What are our desires in regard to the government? That depends upon the opinions and wishes of others, and the only way we can find out is to meet with them, and common opinions will take a common form of expression, and without such meeting our wishes must remain without form and void. Now, when the Constitution gives us the right to vote and the laws do not give us the opportunity to exercise that right in the only way it can be exercised, the Constitution becomes void.

Mr. Hughes says: "With exceptions almost negligible, the people are divided for political purposes into two great parties. Action outside these parties is practically ineffective save as it may voice a protest. From one or the other of these parties come our officers of government."

This is my proposition well expressed. The people are divided into two parties. If they are not in these two parties they can do nothing. Now, since they cannot act without the two parties we propose to make a law so they never can act without these parties. To pass a law that will make it impossible to elect officers outside of these two parties, is the same as making a law that will enable only members of these two parties to be our officers or to vote for officers. Now they propose to have the committees of these parties pick out men for candidates, and these men must become our officers, for the people cannot organize themselves outside of the parties, and to be outside of the party organization represented by the committee, is as being outside of the parties. Yes, our action is inside the parties the same as the action of the bird is inside the cat. We can "voice a protest" if we have money enough to hire men to circulate a petition. But why protest? Let us pray!

The Constitution gave us the right to vote but did not give us the opportunity. Parties have come to do what we might have done if we had been given the chance. Parties have made the Constitution unnecessary, it is outgrown. Instead of making the law of the State correspond with the mandate of the Constitution, we kick the Constitution into the street to be tread under foot by the Elephant and Donkey.

The next time the Constitution is revised the preamble should read: "We, the Parties of the State of New York, grateful to the negligence of the people to exercise their rights, which has given us the opportunity to rule them, do hereby command them as follows:"

Which comes first, the party or the citizen? Is the citizen outside of the two great parties of no account? Do the parties take higher rank than the State itself? To be a member of a party is a greater privilege than to be a citizen of the State! The party is more effective than the State. The Party Platform is more binding than the Constitution, the power of the party committee is higher than that of the officers they appoint. Not the "mandate" of an outgrown Constitution, but the decree of the platform written by a self-appointing committee, is what our laws must correspond with.

### *Saving the Party.*

We have saved the Country, we have saved the Constitution, and now we must save the Parties—"protectors of our liberties."

In the chapter "Party Government a Failure," I have pointed out some of the black spots on the party leopard, and given some quotations from Governor Hughes. In addition to the observations made there, let us note that we have always had party government that we have found fault with. Are we sufficiently satisfied with it that we want to perpetuate it, or shall we let the people rule?

In the chapter "Necessity of Parties", I have given expression to the opinions of our great statesmen and officers who say that parties are necessary, but they do not say what they are necessary *for*. Until we organize the people into parliamentary assemblies so they can govern themselves, parties will be necessary to appoint officers to govern the people. That is what they are necessary *for*. We have denied the people the opportunity of governing themselves, and parties have come to govern them. Shall we entrust the power of government to the hands of the people and destroy parties? If we do the one we must do the other.

For myself I say, "Parties Must Be Destroyed", but the Governor says, "No". He says: "To safeguard the party machinery from being used for selfish ends is essential, not only to the welfare of the party, but under our party system to the welfare of the State." First, let us observe that the party machinery was made out of selfish interest, is maintained by selfish interests, is made to run for selfish interests, and cannot be run in any other way, because it must be run by a few.

The Governor says: "Now, it is *futile* and UNDESIRABLE to attempt to destroy parties, it is unavoidable that parties will continue, and party organization is *essential*."

"It has been said that it would *destroy* party organization, but *means have been provided to maintain party organization*." No, the dear parties *must not be destroyed*.

"In short, no blow is aimed at *party organization*."

"Independent action may have its negative value, but for affirmative constructive work, *party organization is essential*."

What a Sphinx!

Politicians are despicable, party government is rotten, but parties must be *preserved*!

The fight has "just begun". When the cruel war is over and the politicians are sent to . . . their resting place, the "people" will build a monument to the "Remains of Parties." And on this monument will be inscribed the likeness of an Elephant and a Mule and the words, "To the Memory of the 'Defender of the Faith'."



## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE DANGER.

*Necessity of Being Kicked by the Mule and Trodden on by the Elephant!*

In America, we say all men are equal, because all can vote, and one vote counts as much as another. Votes are equal. In the matter of depositing ballots, voters are equal; but the power of the voters is very unequal. A laborer on a railroad can vote once, and Mr. Harriman, the railroad king, can vote but once. The vote of each counts alike, but the laborer's influence ends with his vote. Mr. Harriman is invited by the President to come down to Washington to talk over the Message to Congress. You see the difference in their influence. So it is not only the votes that count, it is the influence of the voters, and the influence of the voter's money. Mr. Harriman says: "Newspaper men are crooks, and I can *buy* them; whenever I want legislation from the legislature I can *buy* it; I can buy *congress*, and, if *necessary*, can buy the courts."

There is safety in the wide distribution of the powers of government among the people. There is danger in the concentration of power in the hands of the few.

There is danger to the Republic when the ruling class considers its own interests superior to the interests of all, when the ruling class thinks it has the privilege of granting the favors of government to its friends. We have a class controlling our government. It is the politician's class. Favoritism and selfishness are the principles that control them. The power of government is coming into their hands more and more and the voters have less and less of the "sovereignty of the people."

The politicians form a class possessing directly, for the time being, the power of government; and they are tools

hired by those wishing to use that power. Those having the wealth will secure the power as long as the politicians have their price—and *get* it. The class that have interests opposed to those of the mass of the people, want control of the government and they are wise in their deceits. In politics they join the parties that profess the cause of the poor. They lead the people to elect politicians that can be bought, and then *buy* them. The people become accustomed to vote with one party, and then those who control the party control the people who vote for it. A class that wants to get control of the government could not invent a better device than a party leading the people to blindly shout for "prosperity and the flag," which means trusts and politicians.

Beware of the Elephant and the Mule bearing "gifts" to the people. They are loaded with "graft".

Governor Hughes says: "The easiest way for special interests to secure favors and to get the best of the laws is through a treaty with a party *machine*."

He also says: "Now it is futile and undesirable to attempt to destroy parties. It is inevitable that parties will continue, and *party organization is essential*."

Lead us Necessity mid the encircling gloom.

Let Liberty cast down her torch and THOU lead on!

Shall the people rule?

Shall parties be destroyed?

What is the answer?

### *Principles.*

Back of an institution we see the principle upon which it is based. Back of a man's acts we see the principles that govern his mind. If a man steals we say he lacks the principle of honesty. If a man leads a life of crime we say he does not believe that "Virtue is its own reward."

Why did the men on the Mayflower in 1620 form a little government in which all should have equal power? Because

they did not believe that one of their number had the RIGHT to make laws for the rest unless they gave him their consent. They believed that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. They believed that government is a society, and that the individual is the unit of that society. Upon such principles our free institutions are built, and such principles are the life of our institutions. We will not trust a man with our money if we know he is dishonest. We will not trust our officers with unlimited and uncontrolled power in government because we know that it is the principle of man to use such power for his own ends. Men find a satisfaction in exercising power over others, and when they are entrusted with unlimited power they become despots. If the people expect any other result they will be disappointed. The strong like to rule the weak, the rich want to restrain the poor, those who have power over others like to use it. Men like to be kings because the office gives them power over the people. Americans hate despotism, they will not be subjects. They do not want to be restrained by trusts, they do not want concentrated wealth to hold them within its grasp, they do not want their officers to wield unlimited power over them. They put the man above the dollar, they make their officers servants not masters, they hold their power in their own hands.

What keeps us from the rule of kings? The belief in the principle that a government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. What holds the great mass of people of the world under monarchical government? The belief in the principle that God has made some to be rulers and others to be subjects. Enthuse into the lives of the servile millions the principle that the people have the right to govern themselves and to be governed only by their consent, and the thrones of despots will crumble in a day. Put

into Americans the principle of human subjection, that rulers of parties are prophets of God, and the great Republic will be no more.

The two principles that have contended for mastery in the political world are the principle of freedom and the principle of subjection. One will drive out the other. Both cannot operate under the same flag. Here is the contest: Shall we be freemen or subjects? Shall governments be operated by consent or by necessity? Shall we desert the peaceful abode of freedom for the hateful house of bondage? Shall the power of government be exercised BY us or OVER us? Shall our government be the republic established under the Constitution or an oligarchy instituted by the politicians who proclaim they are necessary?

Kings are necessary, they rule by natural right. Parties are necessary, they rule by natural right. If we put into the hearts and minds of the people the principle that parties are necessary, we need not expect the people to rule, they will give their consent to be governed by the powers that are over them, the powers that are necessary. "Invention is the mother of necessity." Something was necessary to make the machinery of government operative. Parties were invented to supply that necessity. The government can be operated in the interests of the people who compose it, or in the interests of the politicians who control it. If parties are allowed to supply the operating power the government will be run in their interests. If the people are permitted to exercise their power of governing it will be operated in their interest.

Shall the prophesy of the Tory Gov. Banks of Massachusetts be fulfilled? He said in 1856: "I can conceive of a time when this Constitution shall not be in existence—when we shall have an absolute dictatorial government, transmitted from age to age, with men at its head who are



made rulers by military commission, or who claim an hereditary right to govern those over whom they are placed."

Or shall we have the peaceful Dynasty of Necessity placed over us by our consent?

Or shall the people rule?

*The Day We Celebrate.*

July 4th, 1776 will be the greatest day in the world's political history. It makes the beginning of the great successful attempt of democracy to destroy imperialism or partisanship. In 1800 the imperialists strove mightily to sustain their principles and to give the death blow to popular government. Hamilton declared that he would put himself at the head of a "triumphant army" if his "party" was defeated. But the author of the Declaration of Independence, the great advocate of American Democracy, won an immortal victory for the people.

The world has awakened from its long dream of the divine right of kings to rule subjects, to a realization of the truth that the right to govern is within us, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that liberty is the gift of God to man. Despots, monarchists, imperialists and partisans have fallen before the march of Human Progress, and they shall not rise up again in America to block her way. We will turn our faces toward the sunlight of truth, cast behind us the shadows of destined imperialism and party necessity and lead humanity from the bondage decreed by Gold to the freedom given by God. The battle for the principles that will enslave or free humanity is still being fought. The triumph of progressive democracy in 1776, in 1800, and 1860 inspires us with the hope that the twentieth century will not see us begin a "new era" of party necessity, in which the servants of the people shall become the "prophets of God" and the masters of men.

A new birth of freedom is necessary that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. We must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence, readopt the Constitution, replace the Flag on the staff of Liberty and institute the Parliamentary Assembly of the People. The Declaration, the Constitution, the Union, the Flag and the Assembly—one and inseparable, now and forever!



## CHAPTER XX.

## THE OPPORTUNITY.

*What We Want.*

We are not advocating tariff revision, free trade, or protection; neither free silver nor the gold standard; nor socialism or government ownership; not trust regulation or trust destruction; neither ship canals nor airships; we cannot agree on everything, and we are not going to try. We want a chance to tell one another what we do want, and that is all we want, except we want every one else to have the same chance that we do. We must work together, and the activity of others is as essential as our own. We want to be a party in power, just long enough to entrust the government to the people, destroy all parties, and then be with the rest of the people, *the people*.

When parties are destroyed the people can assemble. When they assemble they will consider the welfare of the State not the welfare of their party. They will come forth from the living grave to bury the parties, all of them. The people entrusted with power, exercising their power, assembled as the power of the State, will be the Washington Party. There will be no parts. But the people will be united in the school of political learning, in their gymnasium of political action, in the life of political blessings.

They will use their talents, they will obtain what they desire; and progress and happiness, instead of progress and poverty, will overcome all the land.

*What We Would Do.*

Parties must be destroyed, but you propose to start a New Party. With poison we may kill poison. That is all the new party will be for. We do not want a new party, we want the old parties to commit suicide by taking the dose of political freedom we have prepared for them. They will

take it—voluntarily or involuntarily, but they will take it internally. It will be their sleeping potion. Instead of eating the grass of the tethered cow, the Elephant and Donkey shall drink their poisoned water at the Satyr's spring.

The Washington Party proposes murder—of the parties. If a man should threaten to kill you, you would be on guard and would seek to save your life. This party will meet the violent opposition of the other parties, but it will win. You will help it to win, unless you are a politician with a job that you want to keep, and think you are not really qualified to keep it, in such a case some other party might keep you in, but the Washington Party would not. Such are the only ones who will be against us, when they know what our party proposes to do.

What is a political party? Theoretically it is a body of men who have similar views on some ONE important question. They get together as one body in voting, and seek to elect officers, who are in favor of carrying out that one principle, on which they all agree. In histories, in school books, on *paper*, the members of a party meet and select delegates who represent them. These delegates make a platform stating what the people they represent believe. Then the members of the party seek to make all the people believe as they do, and on election day they vote for the candidates of the party, who are bound in honor to carry out the principle expressed in the platform.

What are the facts? A party is a body of men, sometimes some of them agree on some one principle, but nobody knows how many of them agree. They do not meet in caucuses to select delegates, nor to express their views. They have a party organization, it consists of a few committeemen, they make up the organization, and sometimes one committeeman *is* the organization. An organization must have a leader, so that it is very natural that some one man



should become the leader of the party. The leader selects the delegates for the people to vote for at the caucuses, and the people go to the caucuses, and vote for them, or stay away. That is all they *can* do. Knowing that that is all they can do, they *usually* stay away. The leader writes the platform, he tells them what they believe. When election time comes they go to the polls and vote for the candidate he has picked out for them. They do everything he wants them to do, they get used to doing it, and they come to feel that it is their duty to do it. Then he becomes their boss. Every man has to have some business, and the boss makes *bossing* his business. In the words of one of the bosses—he works for his own pocket all the time. He is looked down upon as a man of crooked ways, but he is the boss and he knows it.

An elephant who has been tamed can be tied with a rope of straw, because he thinks his master has tied him. The people are led with a rope of straw as if it were a bond of love, for they seem to think the boss loves them. The lion loves the ox he eats.

You have seen a fierce bull led by a ring in the nose. When there is no one big boss a few little bosses get together and make a ring. This ring is in the people's noses and they are led, not like a fierce bull, but like a fat calf, to the slaughter. Their blood is offered up as a sacrifice to the party gods. Long live the Boss! Long live the people that they may serve the Boss!

*What Labor Organizations Teach.*

We not only demand the right to vote, we demand the right to co-operate. It is only by co-operating that our action will be effective.

The Constitution of New York says: "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

But if each citizen had his gun at home, how much opposition would there be to an invading army? The people must be organized into an army, or the right to bear arms is of no account.

The laboring man has the right to work, but when the work he can do is controlled by trusts, his right to work depends on the willingness of the trust managers to let him work. There are over five hundred thousand men employed in mines and over fifteen hundred thousand men employed on railroads. What an army they make, each one with his right to vote and right to work. If the only organization they could have would be the employer's association, the employer's party, what chance would they have for securing their rights? Of course, they would be allowed to work, they were made to work, but what would they get for their work? Enough to live on, or else they could not work! The laborers have the right to organize, and it has been the exercise of their right to organize, the formation of their labor organizations that has secured to them their human rights, that has secured them better wages and better conditions of employment. Suppose the government should recognize the employer's association as the only means through which the laborers could express themselves, what would be the result? The party that controls capital would control labor. Then as now the men would act through a party managed by men with interests opposed to the laborers. For self preservation the laborers have organized themselves, and they have organizations in which they can act. They have actual parliamentary assemblies of their members and are not governed by committees or bosses. They meet in their locals and unions and express themselves and select delegates who represent them in their higher assemblies.

Now, conceive that all these labor organizations are not in existence, think of the employer's associations as the only

organizations that have grown up to deal with labor questions, and then think of the government passing a law recognizing these organizations of the capitalists and making it necessary for the laborers to get into such organizations governed by committees of the organizations! Would that not put the shackles of slavery on every laborer?

But the officeholders, capitalists and those who seek special privileges have formed political parties and control them, and now the Governor says the people must act through these political parties and must be governed by their committees and bosses. Is not this political slavery? All men are equal, all have the right to vote, but when they are put into the cage of political or industrial "organization", what comfort is such equality?

We must do what the labor organizations have done, but do it on a greater scale, do it not as private individuals but do it as the State assembled. We must organize the people so they can act of themselves and not be required to act under committees or parties.

Different labor organizations cannot get what they want because there are not enough people acting together, there is not enough co-operation, and that is the point from which we started. The people cannot rule because they cannot act together, they do not get what they want because they cannot ask for it together. We were made for co-operation, and we cannot act like ourselves and cannot get what we want, until we are organized for co-operative action. Parties divide us into bands to fight one another for the benefit of those who manage us. If we organize all the people into parliamentary assemblies, each little district being an assembly, the people will be acting altogether. They will rule, they will receive what they desire.

Why, the very Kingdom of Heaven comes when the people are organized to express themselves, for the voice of the people *is* the voice of God.

*The Party Tree.*

Why are parties necessary? They came to express principles. They remain to graft. They are necessary for grafters. He that grafts a branch is entitled to the fruit that it produces. The farmer grafts a new variety on an apple tree. All the sap of the tree flows through the new graft and all the fruit is borne by the new branches. He picks the fruit. The politicians have grafted the party branch onto the government tree. All the functions of the government are exercised by these new branches. All the benefits of the government flow through these new branches. The flower and the fruit is theirs. Shall not the master grafter pick the fruit of his tree? The tree with its trunk and roots embedded in the earth are to supply the sap for the branches, and the branches that are grafted grow most vigorously and need the most sap. What is the frame-work of government, the Constitution, the trunk of the tree of state, for? What are the spreading roots of the tree, the people, for? To supply sap for the branches. The sacred tree of the people with its new party branches is sending its life fluid up to the leaves, and bearing much fruit, and the boss of the orchard sits in its shade and picks the golden apples. But when we shall have instituted parliamentary assemblies of the people a new branch shall appear on the tree of political life, and the golden apples of the politician shall be lemons, even turning to ashes in his grasp.

*Educating the People.*

People get their news from the papers, their information and their knowledge of what is going on with respect to the government, what laws are passed or being talked about.



Take out the newspapers and the people would be left in ignorance so far as the running of the government is concerned. The people are to choose candidates by direct primaries! If there were no newspapers the people would not know that there were direct primaries. The State takes no notice of the intelligence or the ignorance of the people, and their knowledge of the condition of the State is not considered. Washington said: "In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened."

The partisan press educates the people for the party and keeps them in the party. All things work together for the boss. What can you believe in the papers on politics? Go into a court house, listen to the trial, and tell which of the witnesses you can believe. Listen to the lawyers sum up, and then say if everybody except the judge at the trial should not be sent to jail. It is a wise man who knows what not to believe. The government is run by parties. Parties are run by politicians. Newspapers are the advocates for the politicians. Newspapers are the only means of political education the people have, and yet we say the people rule. They cannot rule until parties are destroyed and the press is free to enlighten the people.

When the lawsuit is ended, the lawyers speak of each other as honest men again. The witness tells the truth as soon as he goes off the stand, and the farce of the truth, the whole truth and everything but the truth is over. So when political parties shall have ceased to be we can believe the newspapers for they will cease to be advocates of parties and will not need to bring lying witnesses into court to bolster up the case, they will tell the truth about public affairs and thus make the work of the State light in educating the people. The papers will print the proceedings of the assemblies of the people. Editors will become teachers. The genius of

the people will be aroused and all educational forces will work together for good. We shall have a government through the people. The government will be the assembly of the people applying themselves to the business of working out their political salvation.

*Making a Difference.*

Think of the Civil War, of the one million men who lost their lives, of the two million men who lost their health, of the billions of dollars worth of property destroyed, and then say if it makes no difference. Think of the years of hatred between North and South, of the thousands of mothers, wives and sisters mourning for their lost sons, husbands and brothers, and then say if it makes no difference. Politics is the cause of all wars. Think of the Russian war, of the Spanish war, of all wars of history, and then say if it makes no difference. Read the "Flight of the Tartars" and say if it makes no difference.

If you are out of work with your wife and children crying for bread, does it make any difference? If your neighbor is in the like circumstances, does it make any difference? When there is wealth piled mountain high on one hand and poverty as deep as hell on the other, does it make a difference? Does the palace of the "Captain of Industry" on the hill and the hovel of the sick widow in the valley with her child working in the sweat shop, picture to you no difference? When industry is run on such a gigantic basis and so successfully, and the government is run so poorly, does it not make any difference?

There is wealth enough to cure all poverty and misery if it were rightly distributed, and that is the province of government, that is the difference. It makes no difference *which* party is in power, it makes a difference whether *any* party is in power. The power of the party is what makes

the difference. Parties must be destroyed and then we shall see the difference.

Trained men are necessary to manage some small business, but men who cannot read can make laws for ninety million people; that is the difference between the running of private business and public business under party government.

In a well regulated factory you find all men graded according to their ability, but in the great government of ninety million people you find the college president, the man employing thousands of workmen, the tramp, the illiterate, are all equal. Brains and experience makes a difference in every business except that of governing ninety million people, and there experience, education, and character make no difference.

### *The Galley Slaves.*

The people have built a galley and chained themselves to the oars by the bands of political party. The party bosses steer the ship over the restless waves for the enjoyment of the trust magnates who sit at the banquet listening to the music of the Sirens on the fatal rocks of "More Profits", singing the burlesque of "Necessity".

O, Slaves, think of the "Seven Great Monarchies" that are no more, think of the beautiful temple of Karnak, and the far famed city of Thebes, think of the millions of embalmed mummies on the banks of the Nile that now are ground to phosphate for enriching the farms of people unknown to Egypt, think of the King who employed 100,000 men 30 years to shape his tomb, think of the pyramids and of the Sphinx, and think the answer to the riddle.

Do you not see the rocks of "Profit" rising from the fog, and do you hear the Prophets tell how these rocks support the earth? Do you not see your ship is rushing toward the

reef? Do you not hear the surge now break against the shore? Bend your faces to your knees and pull once more at your oars, stretch forth your limbs and send the ship along. The men are drunk overhead; the pilot sees the fog, the darkness of "Necessity", then shuts his eyes, holds firm the rudder, and awaits the crash.

In far off times, in distant lands, can you not feel the tropic sun burning on the white slave's back? Can you not see the toiling millions heaving high the mammoth rocks that rear great Cheops 500 feet in air? Have you not knelt before the Sphinx to ask if this "Necessity" must be and if there is no higher God than that which drives you on; and have you turned away without an answer, sick at heart, overcome with fear and awe?

Awake, Ye Slaves, this civilization you are in is but a dream. Pull at your chains to see if they are real. The bones that now are being ground to fertilize the soil are of your children. Aye, let the burning heat that sears your backs dry up your tears. The thirst is on your parched tongue, the ache is in your palsied limbs, the weight of centuries bows down your human forms. Awake, you are the slaves that polished bright the columns of Karnak and put in place the last stone on the top of mighty Cheops. You are the slaves that pulled the Roman galleys, you knelt before the Sphinx. Know that this past is but a dream, you kneel there now and suppliant ask if all these things must be. You kneel before the Sphinx of Party, and the Wise Men answer to your prayer: "Yes, this must be; so the Fates have decreed; there is nothing new under the sun, what has been done must be done again."

Fall not asleep again. 'Tis but a dream, and need be but a dream if you will keep awake. Cast off the shackles of the slave and now be free. Say but "I Will" and it is done, and a new thing appears under the sun. Come up on deck, cast



overboard your false pilot and take the helm in your own hands. The Sun of Liberty rises with your spirit, the fog fast disappears, the danger rocks are clear, the ship sails on. Sail on, O, beautiful Ship of State, with the parliamentary assembly strong and great. "Humanity with all its fears" shall find in thee safe refuge.

*Development of the People's Power.*

What developed our great statesmen of the Revolutionary and Constitutional period? The Parliamentary Assemblies of the people. The men of that time stand out as giants and not as peanut politicians. They did great deeds for the people and fought their battles well.

Would such as Croker be our leaders if the people had their choice in parliamentary assemblies? We would have the very best men in every community as our delegates, and the very best men in the State as our officers. Government is the greatest business and we should have the best men to conduct it. If the government rests on a solid foundation, it will endure. On what foundation must a government rest that it be secure? The continued approval and confidence of the people is the bed rock. They must continually participate in their government. The parliamentary assembly of the people is the foundation stone for the temple of permanent government. Partisanship is an acid which when poured over the stones will dissolve them into sand.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." If the people would retain their power gained through the Declaration of Independence and the great war, they must use that power or their hands will become first palsied and then tied by those who want to use the power the people once possessed. A mere boy can bind the hands of the giant when drunk with wine. Let us not drink longer of the fruit of the party vine.

What has caused the great progress in America and in the world in the last fifty years? The spirit of democracy. The thought of the people has been Liberty, and it is this thought that has driven the world along. "Thought is the wind, knowledge the sail, and mankind the vessel." What is the sea? Freedom. When we thought the world was flat and were afraid of falling off, we were bound down with fear. Our enterprises were limited by fear, the mind was restrained by fear. We were afraid to think and afraid to express our thoughts. New things were the forbidden things and might land us into prison or burn us at the stake. It is only when knowledge gives us pleasure or profit that we like to go to school. The minds of the people have been put to sleep by the narcotic of fear, of subordination to authority. Man has hid in his cave of ignorance to escape the giants of bigotry and superstition.

But when the world was found to be round, when men found they could sail out upon the deep without falling off, when they found the world of truth lay open before them and all they had to do was to open their eyes to see the truth, they broke forth from their cave and found their freedom in the great round world of facts in the sunlight of truth. Their minds began to act, to grow. The night passed and the day dawned. Through freedom the people have grown, in freedom they will continue to grow; but they must maintain their freedom. We can go back to the cave if we choose, we may be driven back unless we refuse. The schoolhouses are our fortresses where we shall take our stand, and Parliamentary Assemblies are the guns that will fire the shots to be heard round the world.

# A WORD TO YOU

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Dear Reader :

Are you interested?

Is not the vision of parties destroyed and the people entrusted with power worth striving to make real?

What can I do? What can you do? Our voices may be weak now, but each one who hears us will become one of us, one with us. We must act together. Alone we can do nothing, together we can do all that is necessary to let the people rule.

The voice of the people shall be heard, but they must speak aloud and speak together. They must not cry in the wilderness, they must speak from the house tops. They have no organization to express themselves. Each one must be an organization, a party, to spread the principles of the expression of the people's power.

Will you help me? Will you let me help you? Let us work together for good. You may be able to suggest some plan for common action, which we and others can follow. Your suggestions are sought, your co-operation is necessary, your aid is desired. Shall WE people rule? Yes. Do it now. Do it for all the people. Write to me or see me. I am ready to work with you.

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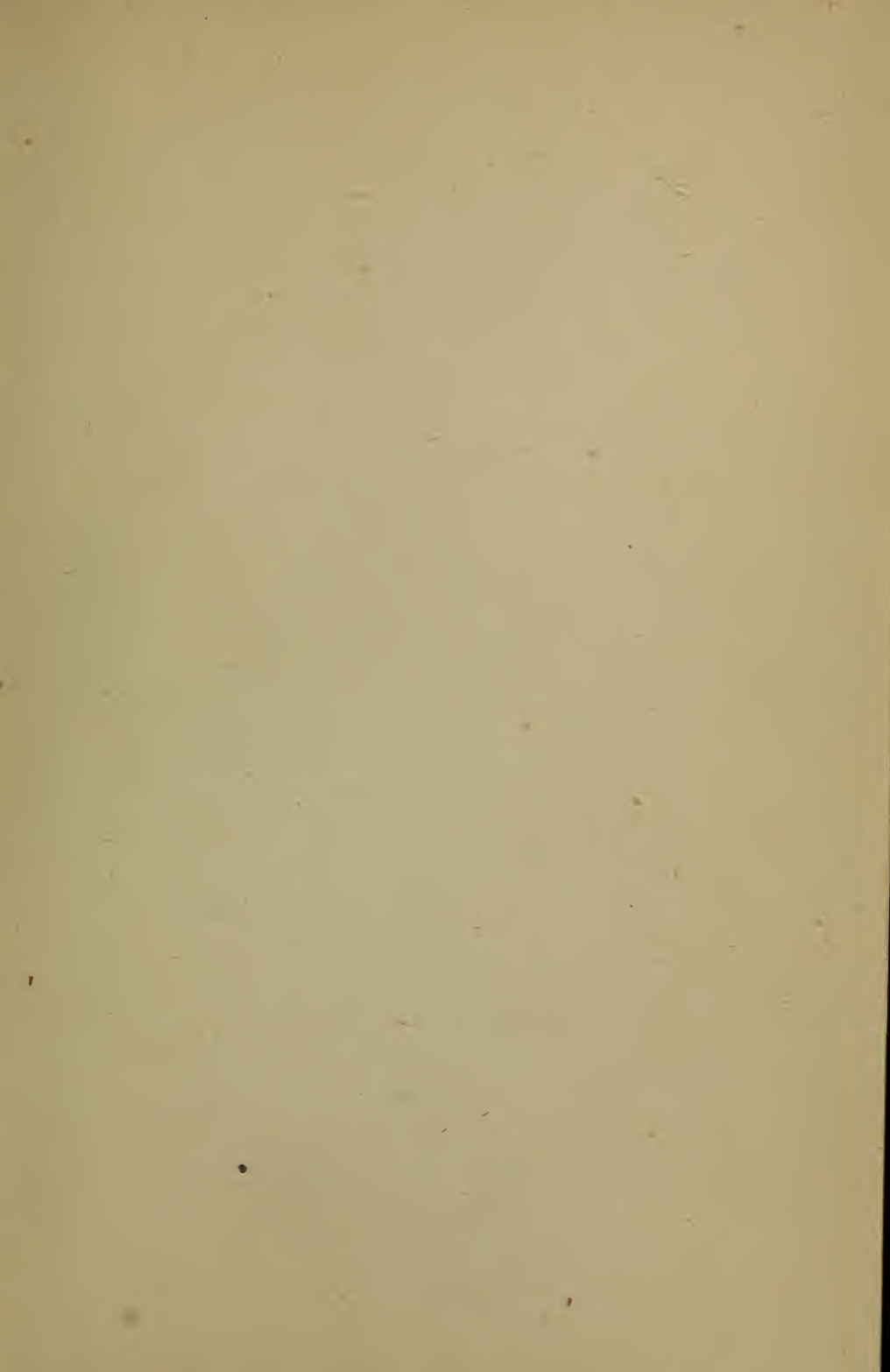
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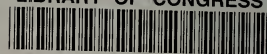








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